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ART. I.—WITCHCRAFT IN SCOTLAND.

IT is with no feeling of pleasure that a writer of the present day can enter upon the task of sketching the sad history of Scottish witchcraft. Horrible as are the events attending the development of the witch mania on the Continent, an enquiry into them yet brings us into the presence of such gigantic crimes that we seem to be dealing with beings of a different nature to ourselves. When we picture to ourselves a king of France levelling a false charge of sorcery, with all its awful consequences of torture and death, at thousands of the bravest defenders of Christendom, merely that he may obtain possession of their riches, or a great feudal lord sacrificing hundreds of children in a single year in the hope of prolonging for a short space his career of profusion, we seem to see before us the fallen angels of Milton rather than the sharers of our common humanity. But in the history of Scottish witchcraft there is nothing to excite the wonder which in some measure deadens the disgust with which we contemplate the deeds of a Philip the Fair or a Gilles de Retz. Here the victims are, with hardly a exception, such poor and wretched old women as are still to be found by scores in every parish in town or country; while the persecutors are the pious, zealous, and, on the whole, learned clergy, whom we have been accustomed to reverence as the very patterns and exemplars of the milder virtues of Christianity. Yet it is, perhaps, as well that

the task should be attempted, for the records in which the terrible details of this later and meaner persecution are written are both little known and widely scattered, and we are therefore apt, while rightly condemning the cruelty and superstition of certain foreign ecclesiastics, to forget that there existed at no very distant date a tribunal in our own land, which, in both cruelty and superstition, actually exceeded the worst of foreign Inquisitions.

The origin of the wild desire to torture and slay all persons suspected of sorcery which fell like an epidemic upon Europe in the middle of the fifteenth century, seems for the present to be lost in obscurity. Some writers, like Sir Walter Scott and Dr. Mackay, have thought to find it in the simultaneous enactment of severe penal laws, such as the Bull *Summis desiderantes*; but had these enactments preceded instead of (as was actually the case) following the outburst of popular fury, we should still find ourselves at a loss to explain why the equally severe legislation of the later Roman Emperors and of Charlemagne was not attended with the same deplorable result. Others, again, among whom are Buckle and Mr. Lecky, have attributed it to the increased attention to the existence of the evil principle, which, they allege, was brought about by the spread of the reformed doctrines, and the more wide-spread study of the Scriptures. But we know that the persecution of witches raged unchecked on the Continent long before the coming of the German Reformers, and that, even after that date, the witch-hunters of Catholic Germany, Spain, and Italy, sought after their prey with a zeal as fiery, though hardly as searching, as that of their Protestant contemporaries. All that is certain is that the fury spread from one country to another, disregarding the barriers of language, creed, and race, until, about a century after it had shown itself in Central Europe, it reached the distant shores of Scotland. Here it continued for about the same length of time as in the place of its birth, to gradually expire in the same manner, and apparently from the same cause that had there brought about its decline.*

* All the trials hereafter noticed (save where otherwise mentioned) will be found reported in Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials in Scotland* (Edin., 1833),

The beginning of witch persecution in Scotland is generally supposed to coincide with the passing of the Act of 1563, but this can hardly be accepted without some qualification. The Civil Law was always terribly severe against witchcraft, and in the proclamation of 1510 for regulating the proceedings at Circuit Courts the judges are directed to enquire 'If there be any witchcraft or sorcery used in the realm?' We even hear of some fourteen or fifteen witches being burnt at Edinburgh in 1479 for compassing the death of James III. by the familiar means of a wax image, and a similar tale is told with regard to the rather mythical King Duffus. It is probable, however, that unless the offence were coupled with some graver crime, such as treason, the judges were satisfied with banishing the offender, and this is the punishment inflicted upon one Agnes Mullikine, who was arraigned before the High Court of Justiciary just before the Act came into operation. Why the legislature thought it necessary to increase the severity of the punishment is not very clear, and the words of the statute itself seem to point rather to an enlightened scepticism on the part of its authors than to any vehement belief in the extensive use of diabolic agency. After reciting that 'The Queen's Majesty and the Three Estates in this present Parliament are informed of the heavy and abominable superstition used by divers of the lieges of this realm, by using of witchcraft, sorcery, and necromancy, and credence given thereto in times bygone against the laws of God,' it goes on to enact that 'for avoiding of all such vain superstition in times to come' no

the extracts from the Books of Adjournal given in the *Spottiswood Miscellany* (Spottiswood Society, 1844), the *Spalding Miscellany* (Spalding Club, 1841), or the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* (Vol. X., N.S.). Dalryell's *Darker Superstitions of Scotland* (Edin., 1834), Chambers' *Domestic Annals of Scotland* (2nd ed., Lond., 1859, etc.), and Rogers' *Scotland Social and Domestic* (Grampian Club publications), have also been laid under contribution. The registers of the different Kirk-Sessions and Presbyteries mentioned have all been printed by one or other of the antiquarian societies, but the Register of the Scottish Privy Council—the Calendar of which has only reached the year 1613—has (thanks to the kindness of the Editor of this *Review*) been searched for the purposes of this article.

person shall 'use any manner of witchcraft, sorcery, or necromancy, nor give themselves forth to have any such craft or knowledge thereof, therethrough abusing the people,' and then prescribes the penalty of death 'as well against such user or abuser as the seeker of the response or consultation.' It is curious that all subsequent witch-trials in Scotland should have been founded on an enactment which seems to have been aimed at nothing more than the fraudulent assumption of supernatural power.

From the outset the Reformed clergy, who were by this time fairly established, seem to have taken the working of the Act in hand. During the first year of its operation four women were denounced by the Superintendent of Fife. Their cases were reported to the General Assembly, who contented themselves with petitioning the Privy Council to take order concerning them; but it does not appear that any notice was taken of the petition, nor is it probable that during the remainder of the disturbed reign of Mary the ministers found themselves strong enough to insist upon the law being enforced. Under Murray things were different, and during the last year of his regency we hear that he 'caused burn certain witches at St. Andrews' on his way to the North, and 'another company of witches at Dundee' on his return.* Among the St. Andrews executions were those of 'a notable sorceress called Nic Nevan' (possibly the Mother Nicneven of Sir Walter Scott) and a Lyon King-at-Arms.† The latter was the most distinguished personage that suffered during the hundred years that the witch-persecution lasted, but as he had originally been arrested for a conspiracy against Murray's life, it is probable that in this, as in most of the earlier cases, the accusation of witchcraft was but a convenient way of getting rid of a political enemy. The assassination of the Regent in 1570 again threw the administration of the criminal law into confusion until the accession to power of Morton, whose dislike of the more zealous of the ministers made it little likely

* See *Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland* (Maitland Club publications).

† See *Hist. of King James the Sixth* (Bannatyne Club publications).

that he would do anything to yield to their wishes. In spite, therefore, of the declaration by the General Assembly in 1575, that 'The Kirk hath power to cognosce and decerne upon witchcraft,' there was little vigour displayed in the enforcement of the Act, and, although two or three cases came before the High Court at Edinburgh and the circuit courts, the General Assembly in 1583 were able to complain to the King that 'there is no punishment for "(among other crimes)" witchcraft, in such sort that daily sin increaseth, and provoketh the wrath of God against the whole country.' Five years afterwards, a witch who had before been accused, but had been allowed to escape by the Archbishop of St. Andrews, was convicted by the exertions of the General Assembly, while a process in 1590 against Lady Foulis (who seems to have really attempted, both by witchcraft and poisoning, to take off several members of her own family), only resulted in the acquittal of the principals in the crime, and in the execution of some of the subaltern accomplices.

Up to this period, the 'dittays' against the alleged witches are filled with recitals of such simple sorceries as the medicinal use of herbs and the performance of trivial and meaningless ceremonies. In no case is the efficacy of the cures or enchantments attributed to any more dreaded agency than that of 'The Gude Folk,' or fairies. But now a change comes over the form of the indictments which shows that the managers of these trials had not allowed some of the more extraordinary theories of the Continental witch-hunters to escape them. Within a month after Lady Foulis' acquittal, Janet Grant or Gradoch, and Janet Clark or Spalding, were put to the bar of the High Court, charged with bewitching to death several persons, with killing cattle, with preventing the consummation of marriages, and with raising the devil. They were both found guilty, strangled, and burnt, but the evidence at their trial prepared the people (as it was perhaps intended to do) for the tragedy that was to follow. In May of the same year, James, when returning from Denmark with his bride, had met with contrary winds which had put him in some danger. It was now given out that this untoward weather was caused by

a number of witches, who had assembled in 'conventions' at North Berwick Church and other places, and had attempted, in conjunction with Satan, present among them in bodily form, to hinder the King's return to his native land. A number of persons, among whom John Fian or Cunningham, a schoolmaster in Tranent, was assigned the leading part, were arrested and examined before the King in person. There is fortunately no need for me to repeat here the horrible details of these examinations, as they have been given at quite sufficient length by all the writers who have touched upon the subject.* It is sufficient to say that, after the most fearful and unheard-of tortures had been inflicted upon the accused, confessions were obtained from them, in which all the wild and impossible features of the Sabbath as described by Del Rio and De Lancre—the form of adoration of the devil, his amours with the witches, and the charms made from the bodies of the dead—were set out with all details. At first James, who was shrewd enough in such matters, listened without being much impressed, and declared the witches to be 'extreme liars': but when the name of Bothwell was introduced as the contriver of the attempt on his life, his attitude changed. For of Bothwell, who had jointly with Lennox governed the realm with great firmness and judgment during the King's absence, James had a nervous horror, which was artfully stimulated by the Chancellor, Maitland of Thirlestane. Bothwell was thrown into prison, from which he managed to escape, upon the peers who had been summoned for the trial refusing to meet, 'knowing,' as says the chronicler, 'that the King had no just occasion of grief, nor crime to allege against him, but only at the instigation of the Chancellor.†' Three years later, having forced his way into James' presence, he demanded a trial which resulted in his acquittal, but was proclaimed a rebel soon afterwards, and died in exile. In the meantime, his supposed accomplices had been brought

* Among others Sir Walter Scott in his *Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft*. All these writers have taken their descriptions of the examination from a rare tract called *Newes from Scotland or the Damnable Life of Dr. Fian*, which has been reprinted by the Roxburgh Club.

† See *Hist. of King James the Sixth*.

to trial and executed, the only person of note among them being Euphemia Macalzean, the daughter of Lord Cliftonhall, a Senator of the College of Justice. As both the Books of Adjournal and the criminal records of Edinburgh for a period of about five years from this date are lost, it is impossible to tell accurately how many suffered on this absurd charge. But, as in the confessions which have been preserved, from sixty to two hundred persons were denounced, we are perhaps justified in assuming that at least fifty of these were convicted.

And now, the panic fear of witchcraft which seems to be the proximate cause of all witch persecutions was fairly aroused, and neither King nor clergy had any idea of letting it die out. In 1592, the Privy Council ordered that blank commissions giving power to imprison for witchcraft should be issued to the General Assembly, to be filled up as they should think fit—a compliment which the Presbytery of Glasgow tried to return the following year by petitioning the Assembly to print and publish all the particulars of the 'impiety of the witches and their late conspiracy,' in order (as they said) that 'the same may be divulged and made notour to the whole inhabitants in this country.' The length to which these measures led may be judged by what happened in Aberdeen in 1596. In that year there seems to have been an epidemic disease in the city, which from the symptoms described was a malarial fever. Of this, many of the poorer inhabitants died, and their neighbours, stirred up by the reports from Edinburgh, insisted that it was the work of one family of singular habits, who had for a long time been suspected of witchcraft. A commission from the Privy Council was therefore applied for, and before April 1597, twenty-three women and one man had been burnt, one woman had died under the torture, one had hanged herself in prison, and four others who were acquitted on the capital charge, were yet branded on the cheek and banished from the sheriffdom. Nor was this all the misery caused by this single commission. As usual, the persons executed had in their extorted confessions accused others, and many of these had taken alarm in time, and had fled the country. The commissioners, in a precept

addressed to 'All and sundry ministers of God's word, elders and deacons of the parish where the persons after specified dwell,' requested them to 'convene yourselves with the elders and deacons of your parochine, and take up dittay of the persons delated as witches by the persons lately execute here for witchcraft.' The notes taken by certain ministers under this precept show that a further holocaust was contemplated, but it may be hoped that the commission was revoked before any further executions could take place.

For, in the meantime, the zeal of the clergy in another part of the kingdom had overshot its mark. One Margaret Atkin, who had been arrested in Fife, was led by the fear of torture to make a confession involving many hundreds of people. In this she alleged that she could recognise a witch by a certain mark in the eyes. She was, in consequence, carried about by the ministers in charge of her case from one town to another that she might be confronted with anyone suspected, and thus many innocent persons were put to death. At last her imposture was detected by the fact that she sometimes failed to recognise those whom she had formerly denounced, and she was burnt, confessing with her last breath that the whole of her pretended revelations were false. Bowes, the English Ambassador, writes to Lord Burghley, in August, 1597, that the witches 'swarm in thousands,'* and as Margaret Atkin gave an account of one Sabbath where she asserted two thousand three hundred persons were present, it is evident that the executions might soon have reached that figure. But the King, who seems to have now become alarmed at the height to which the delusion had grown, revoked at one stroke all the Commissions of Justiciary then in existence, and thus for a time put a stop to the terror. This merciful act came too late to save the life of poor Alison Balfour, whose trial (to which I shall hereafter return) shows more human suffering than perhaps has ever before been crowded into a single room. Nor was it able altogether to tame the zeal of the Aberdeen ministers, for we find a resolution by the Presbytery, in 1602,

* See *Calendar of State Papers (Scottish Series.)*

that there shall be a 'privy inquest for witches through the whole parish,' the results of which were to be sent to the Marquis of Huntly, as Sheriff of the county, in order 'that the land may be purged of such instruments of the devil.' The Marquis was apparently not inclined to trust to the information obtained by the 'privy inquest,' for we find the Presbytery resolving the following year that 'each minister with two of his elders, that fear God and are most zealous for His glory, shall at each particular Kirk *respectivé* take the oaths of the inhabitants, within their charge, what they know of witches and their consulters with them,' so that 'his Lordship may the better know whom he shall hold to justice.' But all the evidence on the subject goes to show that no more victims were sacrificed as the result of these inquiries.

It is possible that Mr. Chambers is justified in stating, in his *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, that the heat of persecution was in direct ratio to the influence of the extreme section of the Reformers. Yet the establishment of the modified Episcopacy favoured by James did not at first do much to cool it. From 1600 to 1620 there were frequent convictions for witchcraft both before the High Court and the Commissions still granted for the trial of individual cases. The infection spread even to Orkney and Shetland, where the Law-thing executed during this period at least twenty-five persons. Nor do the ministers appear to have in any way abandoned their claim to assist the lay courts in the exercise of their jurisdiction. Thus, in the case of Grizel Gardiner, who was arraigned before the High Court in 1610, the principal witness against the panel was 'Mr. John Caldcleuch, minister,' who deposed that the Presbytery had directed him, as their Moderator, to 'notify the truth' of the accusation to the Privy Council 'that some order might be taken anent her trial and punishment.' But, in the long run, the change in Church Government was favourable to the suspects. In 1624 the Council proclaimed that 'to the intent that neither should the innocent be molested nor the guilty escape,' all informations should thenceforth pass through the hands of the Bishop of the diocese 'to be seen and considered by him and such of the ministry as he should call unto him.'

This was clearly to the advantage of the accused, because the Bishop was, from his position, not likely to be under the fear of reprisals which led the neighbours of a delated person to look with horror upon the possibility of a witch's escape. Its effect was seen in a marked falling off in the number of executions from this date down to the death of James; and in the denunciation to the Council, in 1632, of one John Balfour, who is alleged to have made a regular trade of discovering witches and to have gone about the country 'abusing simple and ignorant people for his private gain and commodity.' It is reasonably certain that no such denunciation would have received attention during the terror which immediately followed the Bothwell trials.

Unfortunately this improved state of things was not destined to last. The civil commotions which followed upon Charles' attempt to force the Liturgy upon the Scottish people, and the signing of the Covenant in 1638, probably kept the ministers too busy for a few years to attend to the concoction of witch-processes, but as soon as their hands were free the persecution broke out with redoubled fury. The General Assembly, in 1640, called upon the Parliament and the judges to enforce unsparingly the laws against witchcraft, and from 1640 until the invasion of Cromwell there was no one to place any check upon their activity. I believe that the details of this second persecution, could they be brought to light, would be found to be more shocking than the deeds of Sprenger and Institor, and that the witch-hunters found their way into the most remote corners of the land. Even the very summary procedure of the law proved too cumbrous for the speed of their operations. The Presbytery of St. Andrews, in 1644, found themselves compelled to procure from the Earl of Lindsay 'a general commission for apprehending, trying, and judging such as are or shall be delated for witches within the stewartry,' and in the same year the Presbytery of Lanark deemed it necessary to provide that each parish should provide guards 'for its own witches.' Such a strain was put upon the resources of the smaller parishes by the fees attending the Commissions for the trial of the persons they had apprehended

that the Provincial Assembly of Lothian and Tweeddale, in 1649, requested 'my Lord Lothian to speak to the Committee of Estates that their Lordships may give order to their clerks to issue out commissions for the trial and burning of witches *gratis*.' The same year the Estates passed, at the instance of the General Assembly, an Act extending the provisions of the Act of 1563, and making it more clear that those who merely consulted witches were to be punished with death. The effect of these measures may be guessed from a statement in Whitelocke's *Memorials* that on the 15th April, 1650, 'At a little village within two miles (of Berwick) two men and three women were burnt for witches, and nine more were to be burnt, the village consisting but of fourteen families, and there were as many witches,' and that 'twenty more were to be burnt within six miles of that place.'

But now a deliverer (as they would have said in those days) was raised up for the victims of superstition. When Cromwell made his attempt to unite England and Scotland under one system of law, his 'Commissioners for the administration of Justice' found in their first circuit upwards of sixty prisoners awaiting trial for witchcraft. Most of these poor creatures had confessed, but on hearing how their confessions had been obtained, the commissioners directed that they should all be released. This proved to be the beginning of a more enlightened policy towards those accused of the crime, and during the continuance of Cromwell's supremacy, but very few were burnt. 'There is much witchery up and down our land,' writes Robert Baillie regretfully, 'the English be but too sparing to try it, but some they execute.' It is with difficulty that the record of any executions can be found until the last two years of the English domination, when the impediments with which Cromwell had surrounded the execution upon witches of what was then facetiously called justice were in part removed. From 1658 to 1660 the trials began again, and thirty-eight women and two men were executed in Edinburgh and the neighbouring counties.

This, however, was but a mild prelude to the storm of persecution which broke out at the Restoration. 'Whatever

satisfaction the return of King Charles II. might afford to the younger females in his dominions,' says the witty editor of Law's *Memorials*, 'it certainly brought nothing save torture and destruction to the unfortunate old women or witches of Scotland.' For three years, indeed, the Privy Council seems to have had little else to do but to issue commissions for their trial and execution. Within twelve months from August 1661, commissions were issued for the trial of one hundred and sixty-six persons, without taking into account some twenty or thirty more who were indicted before the High Court. The numbers, indeed, lead us to expect a return to the barbarities of the time of James VI., but this was far from being the case. On the contrary, there are many signs that the Council were glad of any excuse for mitigating the cruelty with which suspected witches had formerly been treated. In February 1662, James Welsh was whipt through Edinburgh and put in the House of Correction for a year for falsely accusing several persons. Three months later, John Kincaid, the 'pricker' or witchfinder of Tranent, whose fame in Scotland had at one time emulated that of his English analogue, Matthew Hopkins, was imprisoned by the Council for presuming to 'prick and try' witches on his own responsibility, and was only released on giving bail for his amendment. And during the same month a proclamation was issued prohibiting anyone from apprehending persons suspect of witchcraft without authority from the Council, the sheriffs of counties, or their deputies,—a rule which was thereafter adhered to with tolerable strictness. But that which most clearly shows the humaner intentions of the Council is the clause henceforth appearing in their commissions to the effect that no confessions shall be received unless voluntarily emitted, that no torture shall be used to extract confessions, and that the sanity of all confessants shall be enquired into before sentence. This last step seems to have been taken in consequence of the complaints against Mr. James Gillespie, the minister of Rhind, who was charged before the Council with having obtained false confessions by means of tortures, pricking, and keeping several women from sleep; on which confessions 'the innocent had suffered death.' After 1662 no

judicial torture was used, although it is to be feared that the clergy continued the pricking and waking when they thought they could do so with impunity.

From this period the persecution began to decline. The fear of witchcraft (if one may borrow the language of modern medicine) had become sporadic rather than epidemic. Now and again some minister with more zeal—or less discretion—than his fellows would busy himself with obtaining informations against a 'notour' witch. Then a commission would be applied for, and the witch tormented either physically or morally until she had denounced others. A few executions would follow, and the popular excitement would die out, to reappear in some other spot. And everywhere throughout Europe, the fires of persecution were burning low. The *Cautio Criminalis* of the Jesuit Spee, published in 1631, so thoroughly exposed the absurdities and cruelties of the witch-trials that the Archbishop-Elector of Maintz, and many other German princes, abolished them in their dominions. The Elector of Brandenburg in 1654 ordered that everyone accused of the crime should be allowed to defend himself before, instead of after the torture. And in 1670 Louis XIV. insisted, in spite of the protests of the Parliament of Normandy, upon commuting to banishment the sentence of death which the Parliament had passed upon a batch of witches. The Electoral Chambers of Germany followed this good example with the best results: and, after this last date, the executions for witchcraft upon the Continent may almost be counted on the fingers of the two hands.

As Scotland was the last country in Europe to which the infection of terror came, so was it the last from which it departed. Sir George Mackenzie writing in 1678, strongly asserts his belief in the existence of witchcraft, although he pleads for the better treatment of the accused. The same year many confessing witches were burnt at Salt Preston and other places, including Edinburgh, but the confessions of these last (as Lord Fountainhall tells us in his *Decisions*) 'made many intelligible, sober persons scruple much what faith was to be adhibit to them.' At length, in 1680, the release of

several suspects upon a report from Sir George Mackenzie to the Lords of Session that their confessions were not only absurd, but had been obtained by torture, seemed to have brought about the end of the persecution. For sixteen years there were no more executions, and, in 1684, a miserable old woman who had been imprisoned, but not brought to trial, was left to die in jail 'of cold and poverty, the king's advocate giving no great notice to such informations against witches.' Yet the terror was not dead, but sleeping. Perhaps the more extreme Presbyterians thought that whatever policy had been pursued by the 'Bluidy Advocate Mackenyie' in Prelatical times must necessarily be wrong. Perhaps the triumphant Whigs really believed the Cameronian stories afloat about the means by which the persecutors had obtained protection from lead and steel, and therefore supposed that by burning witches they were depriving their enemies of valuable allies. At all events, as soon as the Presbyterian form of worship was restored at the Revolution, there was a faint recrudescence of the persecution. In 1692 a commission was issued for the trial of four women in Dumfries. Three years later, two more were executed in Inverness. And in 1696 a witch, who had denounced others, led to a sort of general commission being issued in quite the old way. The next year a commission was granted for the trial of twenty-four persons at Paisley upon the spiteful accusation of a little girl of good family who afterwards confessed her imposture. Of this batch, one hanged himself in prison, and five were burnt. The General Assembly too, woke up, and discussed the advisability of presenting an address to the Council asking for severer measures against witches. But it was all of no use. Although the Council might yield to the ministers for a moment, they had no intention of reviving the witch-hunts of the Covenanted decade. In 1699 a witch and a warlock, who had been tried in Ross-shire, got off scot-free, and although nine others were remitted to the commission who had tried them for 'arbitrary punishment,' they were probably only banished. In the years between this and 1705, four more executions follow, and then there comes a pause. We hear no more of trials for witchcraft until 1727, when

the last witch who suffered in Scotland was burnt at Dornoch by the Sheriff-depute of Sutherlandshire, in spite of a previous warning from the King's Advocate against the impropriety of meddling with such cases. The abolition by the Parliament of the United Kingdom, in 1735, of the penal laws against witchcraft made any further persecution impossible.

But although the terror was thus suppressed, the belief remained. The Seceders in 1742, in their 'Testimony against the Errors of the Time' included among the causes of Divine wrath the repeal of the Acts against witchcraft, which repeal they declared to be 'expressly contrary to the law of God.' This testimony was read yearly in their churches as late, says Arnot, as 1785. Nay, a writer in the *Edinburgh Magazine* for 1817 says that, at that date, the same doctrine was still taught from their pulpits, and firmly believed in by far the greater number of their adherents. Nor is the belief entirely extinct at the present day. No one who sees much of the peasantry in the remoter parts of Scotland (or for that matter, who reads the newspapers diligently) can fail to be aware, that there are still a few old women to be found who practise charms which two hundred years ago would have sent them to the stake.

It is extremely hard to estimate with any accuracy the total number of those who were done to death for this supposed crime. One great difficulty is the number of courts claiming concurrent jurisdiction. Thus, in the time of James VI.—which we may fitly call the first persecution—witches were brought before the special commissions granted by the Privy Council, the High Court of Justiciary, the Circuit Courts or 'justice-aires,' or the great noblemen to whom the King granted from time to time commissions of lieutenancy over the outlying provinces. Of these tribunals, the High Court is the only one that has left anything approaching to a regular record of its proceedings; and even in this, there is, as we have seen, a gap of five years in the very heat of the persecution. It is also the tribunal before which the fewest prisoners for this crime were tried. Of the proceedings of the special commissions we have only the records in a very few cases, and some brief notices in the contemporary writers from whom I

have quoted. Of those of the Circuit Courts and the King's Lieutenants we have none at all. Nor is this the worst. Pitcairn, Dalrymple, Sir Walter Scott—all the most trustworthy writers, in fact, upon the subject—are agreed that the cases tried before the High Court bear but a very small proportion to the great numbers condemned by the numerous petty tribunals arising from feudal tenure. Now the number burnt by sentence of the High Court during this period averaged at least one a year, and often rose as high as three or four. And if it were really the case that, during this time, all the Sheriffs of Counties and Lords of Regalities, with their deputies and Baron-Bailies, were hard at work routing out and burning witches with even the moderate amount of energy shown by the High Court, the total would come to something enormous. It is no doubt on this basis that Dr. Mackay, in his very interesting book on *Popular Delusions*, makes the calculation that, for thirty-nine years after the Act of 1563, an average annual number of two hundred victims were executed. I am glad, however, to think that this may not have been the case. Sir George Mackenzie in his *Scottish Criminal Law*, expressly says that he has found 'no instance where inferior courts have tried this crime,' and that '*de praxi*, none used to judge witchcraft, but the Justices, or such as have a particular commission from the Council.' The fact which has been apparently overlooked by Pitcairn and the rest, seems indeed to be that, although sheriffs and other inferior judges were in the habit of apprehending and examining witches, yet that they had no power to execute them, but were obliged to send them for that purpose to a superior court. In proof of this I may perhaps add, that in upwards of three hundred trials for witchcraft which I have myself examined, the sentence has in each case been pronounced by a Justice of the High Court, or by a special commissioner. Even with this deduction, the number of victims is sufficiently great; and I do not think that it can have amounted, during the first persecution, to any less than fifty *per annum*.

During the Puritan period from 1640 to 1650—which we may perhaps call the second persecution—this estimate must

be considerably increased. Although the number of tribunals can now (if I am right) be reduced to the High Court, the Circuit Courts, and the commissions issued by the Committee of Estates, yet both trials and executions were much more frequent than in the time of the first persecution. 'The terrible increase of witchcraft in the land' is a phrase occurring with monotonous frequency in the sermons of the period, and the preachers took care that it should be justified. Stevenson in his *History of the Church of Scotland* mentions that, in 1643, more than thirty witches were burnt within a few months in Fife alone: and that this was no spasmodic effort on the part of the persecutors, is shown by Whitelocke's account, before quoted, of the condemnation of thirty-four witches within a much smaller area. Lamont also, in his *Diary*, notes the execution (within a few months of the burning of those mentioned by Whitelocke) of 'Very many witches in several parts of the kingdom, as in Lothian and in Fife, viz.: in Enderkeithing, Aberdour, Bruntellande, Deysert, Dumfermling.' Altogether I cannot put the number of victims in the second persecution at less than a hundred *per annum*, while I should not be surprised to find that they amounted to double this number.

We come to firmer ground with the third persecution, which took place during the three years immediately following the Restoration. The figures that I have quoted above show two hundred trials in one year, and the proportion of executions to trials was always extremely high. There is therefore no ground to suppose that Dalyell errs otherwise than on the side of moderation when he considers that a hundred and fifty *per annum* suffered during this period.

Nor must it be forgotten that even in the intervals between these outbreaks the flames of persecution were by no means extinguished. On the contrary, when the clergy were most lukewarm in the pursuit, a steady supply of victims for the executioner was yet kept up. I do not think that the number burnt (except, perhaps, in the Cromwellian period) was ever less than twenty *per annum*, and it is at this figure that I propose to estimate them.

We shall then have as the total number of executions:—

In the 1st persecution, from 1590-1597,	50 per annum, or	350
„ 2nd „ 1640-1650,	100 „	1000
„ 3rd „ 1660-1663,	150 „	450
And during the remainder of the time (say from 1580 to 1680) that the persecution was really sharp,	... 20 „	1600
In all,	3400

These are numbers that can be strictly justified by the few and imperfect records that we now have.* I do not believe that any future discoveries will prove them to be in any way exaggerated, but, on the other hand, that they may compel us to largely increase them. If, for instance, two or three well authenticated cases could be produced in which a Baron-Bailie had condemned and executed witches without authority from a higher court, I should be much inclined to multiply the total given above by ten.

One naturally asks for what crime these thousands of human beings were put to death. In the first place it is impossible that a net so widely cast should not have caught within its meshes some real criminals. Such was Erskine of Dun, who was beheaded with his three sisters in 1613, for poisoning with herbs obtained from a reputed witch, two young nephews who stood between him and a rich succession. Others, again, were lunatics, like the Major Weir familiar to the readers of *Redgauntlet*. This wretch, who had all his life been noted for his piety, was hanged at Edinburgh, in 1670, on his voluntary confession of crimes which, though horrible and revolting, certainly required no supernatural aid for their accomplishment. In all these cases the low degree of proof required, and the feeling against the prisoner which it aroused, made the charge of witchcraft a very convenient addition to the indict-

* Some very wild estimates of the numbers were formerly made. John Ray, the naturalist, who travelled in Scotland for ten days in 1661, says that 'At that time divers women were burnt for witches, they reported to the number of about 120.' Mackay, in his last mentioned book, says 17,000 were burnt between 1562 and 1625, and 4000 during 1650 (Qy. 1640 ?) and the ten years following. Rogers' estimate for the whole period, from 1479 to 1735, is 7,500.

ment of the prosecutor. Yet the cases where the accused were guilty of any real crime were wonderfully rare. In nearly every instance the supposed witches were old women of the lowest class, whose poverty, sour temper, or singular habits, had made them an object of dislike to their neighbours. Of this sort was Janet Wishart, whose deeds seem to have been the moving cause of the Aberdeen Commission of 1596. In her dittay, beside the usual stock accusations of causing sickness and casting 'cantrips,' it was gravely alleged as an offence against the panel that she 'puts on nightly a great fire, holds the same on the whole night, and sits thereat, altogether contrarious to the nature of well-living persons.' After this clear evidence of 'devilish practices,' it is not wonderful to learn that the assize found it to be due to her casting, 'certain drugs of witchcraft, *such as old shoon,*' into the fire of her neighbour, John Club, that 'the said John Club is become altogether depauperit.' In fact, the theory very early adopted by the High Court of Justiciary that any injury following upon a threat uttered by a suspected witch was of itself sufficient proof of the possession of Satanic power, made almost any evidence relevant to infer the pains of law. Thus, in the case of Margaret Hutchinson, in 1661, the panel who had been already indicted and acquitted, was tried a second time before the same assize. The only fresh evidence produced was that, on the occasion of a quarrel with her servant, she had been heard to tell the girl that she should repent it. The servant had a fit the same evening, upon which her mistress assured her that she should not die 'that time,' and transferred the disease to the house cat, who was found dead near the servant's bed. For this 'malefice,' evidenced in true Jack Cade fashion by the testimony of a person who had seen the girl ill and the cat dead, Margaret Hutchinson was found guilty and burnt at the stake. There remain the cases where the accusation of witchcraft was but the result of the panel's perseverance in a course of imposture. Thus it was with those who pretended to work miraculous cures. Doubtless many of these had a very fair knowledge of simples, which they had learnt either as a family secret or from those Highland women

who were accustomed to fill the place of doctors in their rude communities. But they generally mixed their herbs to the sound of mysterious chants, which were either corrupted beyond all intelligibility or had, so to speak, a twang of Popery about them. Such were the 'devilish prayers' used by Agnes Sampson, one of the Bothwell witches. One of these alludes to the power of 'holy kirk' to forgive sins in a way that must have been very shocking to Puritan feelings, while another speaks out still more plainly :—

' All kinds of ills that ever may be,
In Christes name I conjure ye ;
I conjure ye, both mair and less,
By all the virtues of the mess,'

and so on. And in the case of Thomas Greave, burnt at Edinburgh in 1623, the making of crosses upon the water brought by him from the Holy Well at Hillside whereby he effected his cures, is one of the charges in the indictment against him.* Yet the judges by no means insisted upon the use of Catholic or superstitious ceremonies as necessary for conviction. For Alison Pearson in 1588, and Bartie Paterson in 1607, were both of them burnt for charms which any Protestant might have repeated. In fact the curing of the sick by any means was always one of the most fatal accusations that could be brought against a witch—a fact which is perhaps explained by the remark of the editor of the *Spottiswoode Miscellany* that the first informations against witches were often laid by surgeons. One has less sympathy with those who practised on their neighbours' fear of the unknown for the sake of obtaining respect or money. Thus Isobel Grierson burnt in 1607, is said to have bewitched Robert Peddan until he remembered that he owed her 9s. 4d., on paying which he was cured. And Agnes Finnie, burnt in 1644, although in the minds of her judges guilty of scattering disease and misfortune right and left, seems to have been always ready to take them off again,

* Rogers *op. cit.*, pp. 279 and 331, gives two charms too long for quotation. One of them alludes to the Friday's fast ; the other prays for a cure to 'the Mother Mary and her dear Son.'

on being properly entreated with a little hospitality. No doubt, many of these old dames, like other charlatans, came at last really to believe in their own power to inflict injuries. 'I have been a very drunkensome woman,' said Helen Guthrie in 1661, in an apparently genuine confession, 'a terrible banner and curser, and when I gave my malison to any person or creature, it usually lighted.'

It is curious that with all this, there should not appear a trace of proof that formal or 'ceremonial' magic was ever practised in Scotland. On the Continent, the regular invocation of spirits which formed part of the rituals of the different sects dating from pre-Christian times, and known first as Gnostics, and later as Manicheans, Paulicians, or Cathari, had taken deep root, and did not entirely die out at the Reformation.* To these sects do we owe the preservation of the astrology and palmistry which, though at one time only looked upon as an easy means of cheating servant-girls, now seem to have taken high rank as fashionable amusements. But nothing of this Oriental leprosy (as M. Bouché-Leclercq has recently called the demonology on which the magic of the Gnostics was based) seems to have troubled the ignorant and untravelled class from whence the vast majority of Scottish witches were taken. If ceremonial magic was ever used in Scotland, it was among the nobles and ladies of the court, and certainly never was put in evidence in any witch-trial. For the spells used by the witches of Fife and Lothian were, like the 'all sorts of thrums and threads cut of all colours, with a piece of crooked wire like a fishhook,'† the possession of which was enough to condemn Janet Lucas in 1597, merely the fetishes to which barbarous

* An account of the signs and wonders wrought by Gnostic magicians is given by Hippolytus in the Fourth Book of the *Philosophumena*. He adds a rationalistic explanation of them which has furnished the learned Eckstein with material for a charming little romance that I have only met with in the form of an American translation called *A Chaldean Magician*. Unfortunately the good bishop's explanations generally make as great a demand on the credulity of the reader as the tricks that they are intended to expose.

† A Negro of the present day would call it a *grigri*.

people in all ages seem to have attached faith. The infliction of disease by the ill-treatment of a figure or 'picture' of clay or wax made in the likeness of the person to be bewitched is almost the only practice of Scottish witchcraft which can be traced to classical times.*

The procedure by which those who practised such arts were convicted was neither better nor worse than that of most judicatures of the time. Like all the tribunals that derived their theories of jurisprudence from Imperial Rome, the Scottish courts looked upon the acquittal of a defendant as an unfortunate accident, to be guarded against by all means in their power. Hence it is not surprising that many a poor creature, when once fairly caged, either hanged herself in prison as the readiest mode of avoiding the doom that she knew to be inevitable, or else confessed whatever her judges required, so as to abbreviate the suffering with which they were wont to embitter the passage to the stake of an 'impenitent' witch. If neither of these events happened, the practice was as follows. The denunciation or delation with which the proceedings began, was obtained either from the judicial confession or some other witch, or by a voluntary information laid by some person who fancied himself aggrieved by the acts of the accused. In the latter case it was *always* (after the Bothwell trials) made to the Kirk-Sessions. Bodin, in his *Demonomania*, states that the information was in some cases anonymous, being put in a box placed in the church of the district for that purpose. This statement has lately been echoed by Mr. Williams in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, but I do not think that it rests upon any solid foundation. On the contrary the clergy seem to have *always* taken sufficient care not only to keep a record of the name of the principal delator, but also to hold him responsible in ecclesiastical penalties for a false delation. For instance, the 'privy inquest,' which we have seen instituted at Aberdeen, led to an abundant crop of

* Except the divination by sieve and shears. But it is curious that divination alone does not seem to have been considered witchcraft by the Scottish judges.

false informations, and the books of the Kirk-Sessions for some years afterwards are filled with the censures passed upon the delators. But in whatever way the delation was obtained, it was the business of the minister and Kirk-Session first having cognizance of it to obtain its corroboration. Sometimes this was done by sending a committee of the Kirk-Session to the place where the delated witch lived, sometimes by procuring a sermon against witchcraft to be preached in her parish, with a special meeting of the Session held the same day for the reception of evidence. When the case had thus been made sufficiently strong, it seems to have been entirely in the minister's option whether he should try it in his own Kirk-Session or present it to the Presbytery of which he was a member. In either case, the Church judicatory before which it came summoned the defendant to appear before it. If she obeyed—as was usually the case—she was formally asked to submit herself to the discipline of the Kirk, and her compliance seems to have been taken as warranting the various extra-legal interferences with her liberty which were forthwith made. If she refused, or did not appear to the summons, a warrant was obtained, in earlier times from a sheriff or other local judge having jurisdiction in witch cases, after the Restoration from the Privy Council. In any event the accused sooner or later found herself in prison. This might happen to be the common prison of the authority by whom she had been arrested, but was more generally the church steeple or a vault under the church. Here she was 'waked' or watched by a committee of the inhabitants under the direction of the church judicatory, the object being to prevent her from obtaining either rest or sleep for a space of time that is said to have sometimes extended to as much as nine days. If this failed to produce a confession, a 'pricker' or person supposed to have skill in discovering the devil's mark was sent for.* His search con-

* Patrick Anderson, in his MS. *History of Scotland*, says with regard to the witches of 1597 that some of them were tried by the 'swimming' or water test. I very much doubt it, but at any rate that test was never popular in Scotland.

sisted in thrusting pins some three inches long into every spot on the poor creature's body which it pleased the delicate fancy of the inquisitors to consider likely to have been caused by the embrace of the devil. When this produced bleeding or caused the victim to flinch, another spot was sought for and probed; but if she showed no signs of pain, it was received as a remarkable proof of guilt. Apart from the outrage to modesty which such a search involved, it is certain that it must also have been a cruel torture; since a woman, who petitioned the Privy Council in 1678, complained that she had been pricked in thirty-two different places in one day. When this treatment had been pursued for a sufficient length of time to satisfy the ecclesiastical authorities (and a witch was often kept in ward for months and even years) the usual course was to apply for a commission for her trial, or she might be brought before one of the Circuit Courts or before the High Court of Justiciary. The proceedings before any of these tribunals began by the examination of the prisoner by question and answer, and—in pre-Restoration times—this was followed by the application of torture. One of the reasons given for its employment was that no confession that the prisoner might have made involving others could be received against the latter unless confirmed by torture, in defence of which position the Laws of Justinian and the comments thereon of the celebrated Del Rio were quoted. At other times it was said with more frankness, that anything that the prisoner might have said before the Church judicatory was extra-judicial, and that after having enjoyed the benefit of rest and sleep, she was hardly likely to repeat anything to her own disadvantage without severe pressure. As Sir George Mackenzie (himself a witch-judge) says most distinctly that torture, either legally or illegally applied, was the ground of *all* the confessions of Scottish witches up to his time, it may be as well to see how it was administered by the Courts. Here is an instance. In 1594 Alison Balfour, (whom I have before mentioned) was induced to make a confession to the effect that she had attempted to bewitch the Earl of Orkney on the instigation of the Master. On her way to execution she retracted this confession in words which I will

quote from the notarial act as given by Pitcairn: 'Being inquired and accused by the Parson of Orphir if she would abide by her first deposition made in the Castle of Kirkwall. . . . She answered that at the time of her first deposition she was tortured divers and sundry times in the Caschielaws, and sundry times taken out of them for dead, and out of all remembrance of good and evil; as likewise her goodman (he was eighty years old) being in the stocks, her son tortured in the Boots, and her daughter (a child of seven) put in the Pilliewinks, wherewith she and they were so grievously vexed and tormented that partly to eschew a greater torment and punishment, and upon promise of life and good deed by the said Parson, falsely against her own soul and conscience, she made that confession but no otherwise.'* This was in the reign of James VI., but the tortures were as brutal, though not so fiendishly ingenious, under Puritan rule. The *Mercurius Politicus* tells us that in October, 1654, Cromwell's Commissioners found at Leith two women 'who had been brought before the Kirk about the time of the armies coming into Scotland, and having confessed were turned over to the civil magistrate. The Court demanding how they came to be proved witches, they declared that they were forced to it by the exceeding torture they were put to, which was by tying their thumbs behind them, and after hanging them up by them, two Highlanders whipt them, after which they set lighted candles to the soles of their feet and between their toes, then burnt them by putting lighted candles in their mouths, and then burning them in the head: there were six of them accused in all, four of whom died of the torture. . . .

* Of these tortures the Pilliewinks was the thumbscrew, the Boot the engine for shattering the knee by wedges that is described in *Old Mortality*. The Caschielaws, which has much exercised the ingenuity of antiquaries, is explained by the Privy Council Register (*Calendar*, vol. vi., p. 49) as an instrument for drawing the 'body, neck, arms, and feet, together within the bounds of ane span'—doubtless on the principle of the 'Scavenger's Daughter.' The stocks were converted into a torture by piling bars of iron on the prisoner's bare legs. In the case mentioned in the text these bars are said to have been of 50 stone weight.

Another woman that was suspected, according to their thoughts, to be a witch, was twenty-eight days and nights with bread and water, being stript stark naked, and laid upon a cold stone, with only a haircloth over her. Others had hair shirts dipped in vinegar put on them to fetch off the skin.* One is glad to find, on the same authority, that the judges ordered 'the sheriff, ministers, and tormentors' responsible for this 'Amboyna usage' to be brought before them, and we may hope that they were properly punished. It was doubtless the discovery of such horrors as these which led the Privy Council of the Restoration to discontinue altogether the judicial use of torture in witch-cases.

The public trial followed upon the conclusion of the prisoner's examination. And here at least one would think that the poor hunted, harrassed, tortured creature would have been treated with some show of fairness. But it was not so. When the indictment had once been read, and the assize sworn, pains seem to have been taken by everyone to prevent the panel having a chance for her life. The indictment of course set out the 'malefices' or acts of witchcraft of which the panel was accused. We have already seen some instances of the inherent absurdity of most of these charges, but it is shocking to find that the advocate for the defence was, in effect, prohibited from saying anything against them. Thus, in the case of Isobel Young, who was tried before the High Court in 1629, the accused was charged with having taken a disease 'off' a patient and with laying it under a barn-door, so that it seized upon the next comer. It was replied by her advocate that this 'was an idle fable, taken probable from the like out of Ariosto.' And to another charge of laying a disease upon her nephew and 'that he died thereof,' the same advocate answered that he could prove that the nephew 'was cured by John Purves, surgeon, lived eleven years afterwards, and had children.' Yet

* I do not understand the use of the haircloth, but I see that Mr. John Aird, of pricking fame, hereafter mentioned, sent his schoolmaster to Jedburgh to buy one 'to help to bring the persons apprehended for witchcraft to a confession.'

both these defences were repelled as *contrary to the indictment*.* In matters of evidence, things were almost worse; for while witnesses not generally admitted to testify by Scottish law ('women, infamous persons, and *socii criminis*,' as some of the judges ungallantly put it) were allowed to give evidence against a witch, yet she was sometimes refused leave to call witnesses in her own defence, on the ground that she might have obtained all the evidence she wanted by interrogating those for the prosecution. When I add that the assize were often threatened by the King's Advocate with a prosecution for wilful error if they acquitted the panel, and that both they and the witnesses were assured, as Sir George Mackenzie tells us, that if a witch escape they 'will die for it,' it is not surprising that the number of acquittals are only about one per cent. of the indictments. It reflects infinite credit upon the assizers that there were any acquittals at all.

We come to the sentence, to which many of the accused are said to have looked forward as a relief from their sufferings. This was generally that the panel should be 'worried' or strangled at the stake before being burnt to ashes. Yet in some instances—notably in those of Euphemia Macalzean and Janet Wishart mentioned above—burning alive was the punishment inflicted. The slightest punishment known to the law was banishment for life.

Such was the manner in which the law was administered by the lay judges. But it has been admitted by all who have paid attention to the records of these trials, that there was engaged upon them another tribunal at once more anxious for the conviction of the accused, and even less scrupulous as to the means of obtaining it. This was composed of the clergy of the district, who were really the moving cause of the prosecution in nearly every case. It was not enough for them that they were constantly, in their Assemblies, hounding on both the legislature and the executive to increased severity. Not enough that they should have arrogated to themselves the right to sit

* See Arnot's *Celebrated Criminal Trials* (Edin. 1785), for more on this highly technical subject. He quotes one very bad case.

as a court of First Instance upon all the delations with which prosecutions for the crime began. But they seem to have looked upon the escape of any person who had once had the misfortune to be accused of witchcraft as a personal insult to themselves. In the reign of James VI. they passed an Act of Assembly that 'in all times coming, the Presbytery proceed in all severity with their censures against such magistrates as shall set at liberty any person or persons convicted of witchcraft hereafter.' In 1642, we find the Presbytery of Lanark continuing capital proceedings against a woman whom both the Commissary of Lanark, and the Privy Council had declared not guilty of anything 'that could demerit death.' And in 1661, a woman who had been acquitted by the High Court was detained in prison at the request of the Kirk-Session, who wished to get up fresh evidence against her. During the height of the second persecution, the part taken by the clergy was (as might have been expected) still more prominent. The Presbytery of St. Andrews not only took upon themselves to advise the Judges as to the persons to be apprehended, the sufficiency of the delations, and 'the allowance of food and sleep' to be permitted to the prisoners, but we find them requesting the Judges to postpone some executions until they can send a committee to speak with the condemned, for the purpose apparently, of getting from them materials for the prosecution of others. Meanwhile, the Kirk-Session of Perth were spending on witch-commissions fines that they had levied 'for the use of the poor,' and the Presbytery of Lanark were ordering sermon after sermon to be preached in the vain hope of procuring some evidence against a batch of eleven women whom they had pricked and waked without inducing them to confess. The remark of the gentleman who edited the minutes of the last-named Presbytery for the Abbotsford Club, 'that the members of the Presbytery seem to have been employed less in attending to their proper ministerial duties, and to the education of the youth in their parishes, than in anxious searches after and in bringing to trial, old women accused of witchcraft,' is really applicable to most of the church judicatories of the time.

Such was the conduct of the clergy in their collective capa-

city. They no doubt justified it to themselves by the interpretation which they placed upon certain texts of Scripture, and, if we once admit the soundness of their assumption that they were engaged in a personal contest with Satan, it would be unjust to condemn it as wholly indefensible. But there are instances of brutality on the part of individual ministers for which (as it seems to me) no palliation can be found. The office of torturer is not one that any man of sensibility or humanity would have been willing to take upon himself; yet we find that several ministers were not ashamed to undertake it. At the trial of Katherine Oswald in 1629, two witnesses testified that they saw 'a pin put to the head, by Mr. John Aird, minister, in the panel's shoulder, being the devil's mark, and no blood following.' And Mr. James Wilson, minister of Dysart, was proved not only to have done the same thing with Janet Brown, who was tried in 1649, but to have repeated the feat for the edification of another minister. Even Mr. James Bell, the author of an MS. *Discourse on Witchcraft*, in 1705, who seems to have held enlightened ideas on the subject, is not ashamed to confess that he has himself pricked witches. A still grosser departure from humanity occurred in the case of Janet Cornfoot (generally known as the Pittenweem witch) in 1704. After being pricked, waked, and beaten with a staff by the minister himself, in order to force her to confess, she was released from prison, arrested again by another minister, and sent back to her first tormentor. He handed her over to the rabble with the remark that they might do what they pleased with her, and when they had acted upon his hint, and had trampled her to death, he aided her murderers to escape from justice.*

It will be noticed that the display of zeal (as it was then called) in witch-hunting was the peculiar possession of no party in Church or State. Indeed we have seen the citizens of the 'Cavalier City' of Aberdeen when under the shadow of the Catholic house of Huntly show themselves to be as keen persecutors as the Presbyteries of Southern Scotland in the palmiest days of

* See *Edinburgh Magazine* for October 1817.

the Puritan domination. But there was a point beyond which neither Royalist nor Roundhead, Prelatist nor Presbyterian dared to press their inquisitions. It seems from the first to have been a sort of tacit compact between the nobles and the clergy that the accusation of witchcraft should never be brought against a person of position. To this rule there was no exception; and it is noteworthy that in the very few cases in which persons like the Lyon King, Lady Foulis, Euphemia Macalzean, and Erskine of Dun were brought to trial, the whole process was set on foot by the Privy Council without ecclesiastical instigation. In the time of James VI., most of the women who dealt in charms and spells, received the patronage of powerful ladies, who were commonly reported not only to learn their art, but to practise it themselves. This was the case with Barbara Napier and Agnes Sampson, two of the Bothwell witches, who were both under the protection of the Countess of Angus; and similar tales are told of the Countess of Huntly, the Countess of Athole, Lady Buccleuch (of Branzholm), and many others.* Yet, while the lower class of witches were persecuted to the death, their accomplices in the higher ranks were never even threatened. John Knox himself, whom James Melvill heard preaching the death-sermon of a witch at St. Andrews, 'she being set up at a pillar before him,' was in possession of enough evidence against the Countesses of Huntly and Athole to have burnt a dozen witches of less rank. Yet it never seems to have entered into his head to bring either of them to trial. The same respect of persons is noticeable in Puritan times, when the wives of certain magistrates of Inverkeithing who had been denounced by a witch executed in 1649, were not allowed to be prosecuted. And, in 1678, some witches brought before the High Court, who, 'if they had been permitted, were ready to fyle, with their delation, sundry gentlewomen and others of fashion,' were forbidden to mention their names. Something of this may have been due to the known partiality and corruption of the Scottish judges

* See the introduction to *Law's Memorials* by Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe (Edin., 1818).

before the Union, yet the ministers' acquiescence in it is in marked contrast with the freedom of their action in cases of heresy,* and even throws a disagreeable light upon their sincerity.

It is more pleasant to turn to the consideration of the problem presented by the almost simultaneous occurrence of witch-trials throughout Europe. The belief in witchcraft, which, indeed, prevails among all peoples of imperfect civilisation, was the common faith of the western world for at least fourteen centuries before the Bull of Innocent IV. Why then did the desire to hunt out and ill-treat witches choose the fifteenth century for its outbreak? And why did it cease almost as suddenly as it began, about a hundred years later? To the first of these questions I am (as I have already said) unable to suggest any complete answer. Perhaps the nearest approach to the truth is, that the panic which gave rise to it was one of those unreasoning impulses—like that which set on foot the Crusades of the eleventh, and the Gambling Mania of the last centuries—to which the nations of Europe seem to be periodically subject.

There is much less doubt as to the cause of the cessation of the persecution. Had the terror been more complete than it was, it would probably have died away in time, like the other popular movements to which I have just compared it. But as it was, the belief on which the terror rested, received a mortal blow before the persecution was half spent. It has often been said that the life of the savage, instead of being either free or noble, is made a constant terror to him by reason of his superstitious fears. Surrounded by phenomena which he does not investigate, and at the mercy of natural forces the play of which seem to him to be entirely capricious, he fancies that every misfortune which befalls him is due to the action of invisible and malevolent beings. Something like this was the condition of our ancestors in the fifteenth and sixteenth cen-

* See Rogers *op. cit.*, p. 317, for a list of the nobility excommunicated for Popish tendencies by the Synod of Dumfries, in 1647. The Countess of Aberdeen was imprisoned for three years on this charge.

turies. But when Science (that is to say, the pursuit of knowledge based upon ascertained fact) awoke from the sleep into which she had sunk so soon as the triumph of Christianity over Paganism was assured, the European began to realise that the phenomena to which he had hitherto attributed a supernatural origin were but the result of natural laws. It was not that Science, as a great part of the Scottish clergy then taught, was sapping the foundations on which the belief in the supernatural rested; but that she was every day reducing the area within which the action of the supernatural was (I do not say possible, but) necessary. It was clearly impossible for any educated Scottish man to believe that disease could be caused or cured by a witch, when Sydenham was working out the true principles upon which the treatment of disease should be based. Nor could he longer believe that a dozen old women assembled in a church could bring on a thunderstorm to sink their neighbours' ships, when Franklin had proved that the lightning was but the discharge of a fluid whose action could be brought under human control. It was then Science, rather than rationalism or humanity, which brought about the downfall of the belief in witchcraft, and it is well that it was so. For Science never gives back the territory she has gained, and although many old superstitions may from time to time be revived among us, we may be quite sure that the belief in witchcraft will not be one of them.

F. LEGGE.

ART. II.—A RETROSPECT ON THE EUXINE AND THE CASPIAN.

THE regions that lie between the Black Sea and the Caspian, and are bounded on the north by the Caucasus, are not only the most interesting and the richest, but also, by their geographical position, the most important of the Asiatic possessions of Russia. Between the years 1760 and 1780, during which was planned and matured the system against the Caucasus, the whole of this vast

territory was occupied by populations, many of them nomad, the eastern portion of them horsemen, the whole of them armed, and constituting part of the Russian Empire. No Muscovite proper inherited this territory, with the exception of some towns and some colonies.

The administration of the Empire did not extend to them, nor did the Russian Church. The connection with the Russian Government was established through submission of princes and tribes still retaining their own usages, and through the military organisation again dependent on tribe usages; through incorporations by Ukase, again on conditions, only at a subsequent period wholly set aside; and finally, on partitions, in like manner subject to stipulations. The populations of these regions amounted to between thirty and forty millions, consisting of Poles, Malo-Russians, Tartars, Cossacks, and Calmucks. The religions were the Roman Catholic, the Starovirtze or old Greek Church, the Mussulman, and the Buddhistic. During this period Russia was engaged in grave foreign wars. In the year 1771 the Calmucks on the Volga, by one estimate exceeding a million of souls, and by none placed at less than half a million, incapable of further endurance, and hopeless of aid from the surrounding tribes equally oppressed, lifted their tents and departed for China, after being in the first instance furiously attacked by the Cossacks and afterwards by the Kirghis. Two years had not elapsed when a Cossack insurrection, organized on the banks of the Yaik by an adventurer of bravery and capacity, but intractable and savage, threatened the entire dissolution of the Empire, and was, after three years, finally extinguished only through his own misconduct.

There was not one of these tribes not ready at any hour for insurrection; but insurrection on its own basis, and without the idea of concert with another. In each there were valiant and desperate men, always ready as leaders of the rest. Siberia had not yet furnished those resources which it has in later times; and Siberia would have but very partially supplied the internal necessities of the Empire. Of all things was it requisite to obtain a field of warfare, not within the State, so as to establish community of feeling amongst the populations, nor too remote, so as to involve it with foreign powers. That field presented itself

in the Caucasus. There the warlike dispositions of the internal populations could be employed, and thither could they be sent to be killed with honourable forms. Even whilst enlisting their feelings on the side of Russia, the more intractable and desperate of the religious disputants and the political malcontents could thus be disposed of. Whatever the consequences of the policy of violence against the Caucasus, then begun, there can be no doubt that, at the time, it was not only a wise course, but so essential that it may be safely said that without it that Empire, in its present proportions, could not be in existence. On the day and hour when the course of the Russian State began to run, by the formation of the proposition in the mind of some Russian Grand-Duke, 'I will conquer the world,' the maxim of destruction was accepted as the means of accomplishment: there was no other. But destruction was not to be applied directly; for if Russia possessed the means in itself of destroying others, conquest would have been the process. It is destruction of one race and State by another race and State. It is destruction of each State by itself. This is the object and end of all that she undertakes, whether in movements of a military kind, which she effects and induces; whether in her relationships of war with Foreign States, or of amity with them; whether in the negotiations into which she enters, or the treaties with which she binds herself; whether in the outward manifestations of her power or the secret communications of her ambassadors. It pervades alike the ostensible evidences of her hostility and the confidential marks of her regard.

By the mere culture of a few literary men, Russia can establish throughout an unimpassioned Europe the idea that Christianity profits by her victories and incorporations. But to maintain the professors of the Greek faith, who are under the Ottoman sceptre in the belief of a religious identity with herself, far other, and very elaborate means are required. These are the periodical transmissions of plate for church service, of embroidered priests' vestments, and of missals printed for this purpose at Moscow, and which could not be suffered to be seen in Russia. Whilst, at the same time, there are vast payments of minute salaries to individuals, and the continual revolutionary promptings of her agents.

It is essential for Russia to have the Turks at Constantinople: because, as the successor of that Empire, she could not hold the European portion against its Christian inhabitants.

Montesquieu said: "It is happy for the Trading Powers that God has permitted Turks and Spaniards to be in the world, since, of all nations, they are the most proper to possess a great Empire with insignificance."

Were Constantinople in the hands of a Government that entertained the lust of conquest, one professing to be so 'virtuous' as to desire to extend its influence, one seeking to benefit mankind by its philanthropy, or desiring to indulge the hunter passions of its subjects by sending them forth as 'excursionists,' then would be seen how grave were the reasons which have, up to the present moment, influenced in secret the Russian Cabinet. Let France, or Austria, or England, or the United States occupy Constantinople, and then would be understood the dream of Omar. Let but one section of the Christian populations—the Greek, for instance,—after a lucky insurrection against the Russian power, get hold of the Dardanelles, and then it will be seen that the Russian Empire is a mere dependency of Constantinople, from the moment it is in the hands of men with sense enough to use it for their own protection, or dishonesty enough to use it for the enslaving of others.

The designs of Russia against India, whenever discussed, or however concluded upon, were always set aside as of little or no moment, through the consciousness which every Englishman entertained of the absolute control which his country possessed over Russia. It was felt that England, being able to strike Russia in her commerce, was in possession of a counter-check, which would prevent Russia from ever using any facilities of injury which she might possess. Now this check consisted solely in the geographical conformation of that Empire. It is this. The exports of Russia give her her wealth, and upon their free interchange with the world depends the revenue of the Government, and the loyalty of the nobles to the Sovereign. But Russia has got no sea-board commensurate with her dimensions, and indeed no sea-board at all.

The Baltic and the Black Sea are themselves but estuaries of

confluent rivers, from which the ocean is only arrived at through a narrow gut. It is thus, that by a few men-of-war England obtained this check over Russia, and thus secured at once her tenure of India and her confidence as a great Maritime Power.

The long struggle between Russia and Poland, however inscrutable in the ingenuity of its method, is by no means so, as regards Russia, in its motive. As by the breaking down of Poland Russia had emerged into political existence, so would she, by the restoration of Poland, be again cast back into nonentity. But it by no means follows of necessity that the measures taken by Russia against Poland were prompted by a foregone conclusion to that effect. There were the rancours of anterior struggle, the animosities of religion embittered by community of race and similarity of tongue. So that, however incredible it may be that Russia should have made use of the Powers of Europe to destroy Poland, still, as regards herself, the destruction of Poland was necessary, and called for every effort of dexterity abroad and sacrifice at home.

As regards Circassia, the case was wholly different and entirely enigmatic. No anterior struggle had existed; there was no intermixing of interest, no conflict of religion, no uncertainty of frontier.

The first partition of Poland was effected in 1772, during the heat of the Cossack insurrection and during the war with Turkey, which closed by the first acquisitions made from that Empire in the Treaty of Kutchuk-Kainarji. To what extent the continued successes of Russia against the Poles during the three subsequent generations of struggle, themselves alone far more than a match for Russia, was owing to the continuous abstraction of its population for the Caucasian War, and the expenditure there of the most resolute, capable, and indomitable spirits of that people, can only be ascertained from the military archives of Russia. But this will appear at once evident—that Poland could not have fallen, had her people entertained in respect to the Turks that appreciation of their value which the Turks entertained in reference to the Poles, whose Sultan alone of the monarchs of Europe, endeavoured to avert their partition, and protested against it. No doubt the origin of this perverting

infatuation may be traced to their early conflict with the Turks, and more especially to the pride that preserved the reminiscence of the chivalrous intervention of Sobieski before Vienna. But that which especially shut out from them the saving thought of community of interest with the Ottoman Empire, has principally to be referred to the war in the Caucasus. The Circassians being Mussulmans, and the Poles being employed against them, and being so employed in a lawless war, on the one hand, the sense of justice in public dealings was lost, and on the other a hatred of the Mussulman engendered. Scarcely had the victory of Sobieski been achieved when a reaction took place; and the wiser of the Poles deplored the insurrectionary act against the traditional policy of their country. Under the Jagellon kings the relations of Poland and of Turkey were those of alliance. The Polish noblesse in the *Pacta Conventa*, forbade all expeditions directed against the Ottomans, and this friendship was broken only by the incursions of the Cossacks into Turkey, and of the Tartars into Poland, at the instigation of Russia. Nevertheless, armies of the Tartars of the Crimea, sent through the authority of the Porte, appeared before Warsaw to resist the Swedes, and in Galicia to resist the Transylvanians. The agent of Charles XII. at Constantinople, employed to establish an alliance between Sweden and Turkey, and to induce the latter to declare war against Peter the Great, was a Pole, Poniatowski. The Confederation of Bar based their operations less on the hopes of support from Western Europe than on the assistance of the Turks. These dispositions of the Poles Catherine adroitly turned to account to destroy all interest for them in Europe by designating them in her manifestoes as 'Enemies of the Christian name,' whose object it was to introduce the Mussulmans into the heart of Europe. During the war of the French Republic General Dobrouski presented to the Directory a plan of operations for France against Russia, by a combination with Turkey; and another Dobrouski, having successfully presented a similar plan at Constantinople, through the instrumentality of Hussein Pasha, the famous Pasha of Widdin, organised Polish legions in Bulgaria and Wallachia.

However, these ancient traditions may have slumbered in the

interval, and down to the insurrection of 1830, they were then, by the shock, suddenly revived, and from Warsaw two agents (Wolicki and Linouski), were sent to Constantinople to persuade the Porte to take up arms. The Poles should have thought of this two years before, as they were told by the Turks; but still, notwithstanding their own recent defeat, they would not have been disinclined, as the Reis Effendi expressed himself to General Guilleminot, to support Poland by sending 200,000 horsemen across the Ukraine. Whether or not such operation was then within their capacity, at all events war would have been declared against Russia but for the interposition of the English Government, in a form which overmatched the penetration of the Porte.

As the Poles, in raising the standard of revolt, had mistaken their time, so on their discomfiture and migration they mistook their way. As they had waited until Turkey had been beaten before taking up arms, so afterwards they wandered away to the West of Europe, instead of returning to Turkey where affections and lands awaited them, and where, finding a home, they might have established a link, to become hereafter a pivot of action. Here, again, the general infatuation did not remain without protest. Their best, if not their only historian, Mochnacki, writing in 1833, repeated to them what Jean Jacques Rousseau had told them in 1791, and pointed out to them Turkey as their refuge and their hope; and that not for them only, but for Europe itself, saying that it was at Constantinople that the stand had to be made 'for India, for Poland, and for Civilisation.' The Polish emigration in Europe, sinking into frantic doctrines, and mixing itself with every wild scheme of Revolutionists, and every lawless enterprise of perfidious diplomacy, lost every memory of their land and every sense of human right.

The Poles of the emigration offered their services to the allies in the war against Russia of 1854. A more deplorable act could scarcely have been imagined if taken to imply that the Poles believed that war to be sincere. On the other hand, assuming it to be understood by them that it was insincere, then association with it was an effort of genius, because it presented to the eyes of all Poland the flag of Poland beside that of Turkey on the battle-field against Russia. Thus the deception, of which

the Poles and the Turks were alike the victims, was converted into the basis of an alliance for future times, which has had the effect of discomfiting the plans and breaking the power of that Government, which has been enabled to use the Great Powers of Europe as the merest instruments of its will.

Throughout the Ukraine the germ of such thoughts were secularly established. The popular prophet, Wernyhora, has left behind him words which have passed from generation to generation, but of which the sense remained to the latter times to be developed.

‘The deliverance of Poland shall come only when the Ottomans shall water their horses in the Vistula.’ Nor is it to be forgotten that there are still remote villages where the Mussulman prayers are recited by a Polish population; that the Polish Ulans (from the Turkish Oghlan, boy) designated simply the cavalry regiments which the Tartars placed at the disposal of the kings of Poland.

The Mussulmans introduced by Witold, brother of Jagellon, all received in Poland the rank of nobles, and their fidelity was inviolable to their adopted country. Nor did they all retire into the Turkish possessions in the eighteenth century.

The war in the Caucasus was to afford to Russia, all other considerations apart, a reserve, always ready, of formed and experienced officers and of men, veterans in war. To this end a single defeat is not uncondusive, as the history of Charles XII., no less than that of the Bœotians, shows.

When Russia exchanged her policy in reference to Circassia, when on the one hand ceasing to require it any longer as a place of butchery for her nominal subjects, and reduced to depend on its active resources for the means of future aggression, the case had naturally to present itself in this form: What can be made of it? It becomes necessary, as the first step, to take in this country as one and as a whole.

Nowhere on the face of the earth is there such an immediate and striking contrast between mountain and plain. Then there is the distinction between Mussulman and Christian. The separation of the quarters of the globe causes our maps to be intersected on this line by the boundary between Europe and

Asia. If, again, looked at in a general map of the Russian Empire, its dimensions dwindle into insignificance by the contrast to the eye with the enormous, though vacant, space included within its frontiers.

To attain to this idea of unity we must find a general name applicable to the whole. That name we might naturally derive from the sea adjoining it to the East, and which particularly belongs to it, and from the mountain which gives to it its character. The names of both are derived from the same source: Caspian from Cassiapa, the Caucasus from Koi-cash, or Kav-cash, the mountain of the Cash, originally belonging to the Indian Caucasus or Himalaya. The name of Caucasus is, indeed, unknown in the country, but it is still preserved in Cashbeg or Kasbek, the peak second in height, whilst the principal peak is known as Elbrouz, the Arabic form of Borgh, the term applied in the Zend to the Indian Caucasus. This was, therefore, in ancient times the country of the Cash.

The Cash are no other than the Cuthites; and China derives its ancient name of Cathai from its conquest by the same people. The Cuthites and the Cash are no other than the Turks, whose primitive seat of Empire was Kashgar, 'mountain of the Cash,' whence their conquering invasions were made to China, India, and the West. From the beginning of history all sorts of tribes and races have lived in the isthmus between the Euxine and the Caspian, and though some of them may have now disappeared or been absorbed by others, new elements have pressed in from the north and east. Strabo, writing under Augustus, mentions four peoples as dwelling south of the Caucasus—the Colchians, along the Black Sea; the Iberians, further to the east; the Albanians, still further eastwards, in the plains towards the Caspian Sea; and the Armenians to the south, in the country we still call Armenia. To the north of all these the wooded valleys of the Caucasus were occupied by many wild tribes more akin, says he, to the Sarmatians, but speaking many different languages; one of the wildest he calls Soanes, the name still borne by an extremely disagreeable race who inhabit the grandest part of the whole Caucasus, immediately to the south of Elbrouz. While these Soanes have been protected by their inaccessibility in the

pathless recesses of the mountains, all trace of Colchians, Iberians, and Albanians, has long since passed away; and though Mingrelians now live where Jason found the Colchians, there is nothing to show that any of the blood of Aëtes and Medea flows in their degenerate veins. Russian ethnologists talk of a Karthalinian stock, to which Mingrelians, Imeritians, and Georgians, as well as some of the mountain tribes, are declared to belong.

The annexation of Georgia to Russia was not effected by military means. On the Georgian people there were not left the crushing memories of a defeat. They only recollect that Russia, by fraud and composition, by treachery to their Prince, and false promises to their people, surreptitiously got hold of the country and crown.

The Kurds, too, have seen the tides of historically recorded empire ebb and flow, rise and disappear, around them. Xenophon, twenty-two centuries ago, describes their condition much as it might be described to-day; and amongst the stores of the British Museum may be consulted the vivid impersonations of Sir Robert Kerr Porter, of costumes which, in richness and picturesque effect, convey anything but the idea of a rude and savage people. The mountain chain of Zagros, which they inhabit, rises to the height nearly of Mont Blanc, exceeding 14,000 feet. It is intersected by rich and beautiful valleys and plains, under the most healthy climate. They have strong feelings of clanship, and conjoin the professions of shepherd, agriculturist, and robber. Magnificent ruins, however, attest higher qualifications, and the name of Saladin, a Kurd, throws round their savage nature a halo of romance.

The Armenians, formerly most warlike, are now the reverse. They trace back their pedigree to Haïc, the son of Togarmah. From one of their kings Ararat is said to have derived its name, so that their permanency, like that of the Kurds, affords a corroboration of the strength of the country.

Were a Caucasin kingdom to arise it would be protected on the south against Persia and Turkey by a scarcely less formidable barrier than on the north by the Caucasus. It would lie between two ramparts which no engineer could blow up. It

would be defended by seas for ditches, and these wholly untraversable by an enemy. It would thus be an unassailable fortress, exceeding in extent Great Britain and Ireland, with the most beautiful climate, under the mildest zones, and bearing the richest produce. Traversed by the sea breezes along its length, cooled by those from the snowy tops on the north and on the south. It is capable of bearing a population of twenty millions of souls; it is a 'virgin' soil for grain, and could inundate Europe with silk and cotton. The ancient and traditional character of danger which hangs over the Black Sea has been in modern times denied. It is not that the improvement of navigation has dissipated groundless fears, but it is that there is danger on two of the coasts, and absence of danger on the two other coasts. The prevailing winds, in consequence of the direction of the mountain chains, are east and west. Consequently, both to the east and west there is presented the lee shore of a shelterless bay. But it is the eastern shore that is peculiarly so circumstanced by its more rapid curvature and by its entire nakedness. It opens as a funnel, and a vessel there embayed with a westerly wind has no chance of beating off, no creek to run into, and no holding ground to trust to. The Russian vessels are forbidden to approach under any circumstances, except during the three summer months. And even in these their stay must not on any consideration be prolonged beyond four-and-twenty hours. Nor is this all. The vast discharge of waters from the Bug, the Dniester, the Dnieper, and the Danube, are all on the western side, and consequently a current is established downward to the Bosphorus. The overflow from the eastern lip of the aperture of the Bosphorus drives along the northern shore of Asia Minor, and sweeping round the Georgian Bay returns northwards along the Circassian coast. So that a vessel embayed in a westerly gale is driven by this constant current (increased by such a wind) on the sandy beach of the Bight of Poti, and in the event of escape from such a fate the iron-bound rocks of the Caucasus await it.

The shore of this bay is shoal. A vessel of any burden would have to anchor at least three miles from the coast. There is no tide to leave it dry, so that it may discharge its cargo into carts;

it has to wait there for lighters to come out to receive its cargo, to discharge which it would then have to seek the inner waters of the muddy Phasis. For this it would require that there were lighters, and the other conveniences of transport and trade, which are wanting.

As Colchis was in ancient times the passage of traffic between the East and the West, and a common centre for the populations of the world—for Strabo speaks of one hundred and thirty interpreters for tongues assembled at its Emporium—it is naturally to be inferred that the ways of the land and the sea were open and easy, and that that way was through the Bight of Poti and the plains of Georgia. Yet, on closely considering the records it appears that not even in ancient times was the shore under consideration used for the purposes of traffic. During the greatness of the kingdom of Pontus, largely indebted, no doubt, to its Bactrian and its Indian trade, the points of embarkation, and especially the celebrated Dioscurias, were on the northern Circassian coast, now represented by Soukoum-Kaleh. These stations being doubtless occupied with the goodwill of the natives, just as in recent times this same fort and Anapa were by the Turks. From Soukoum-Kaleh, the natives being friendly, an inland passage was open through a healthy country lying between the asperity of the mountains and the miasmata of the marches.

After the fall of the independent and great States of Asia Minor this traffic still continued under the Romans, but it was diverted from the Circassian coast without coming down to the Georgian coast. It found its issue to the sea, as descending from Erivan, through the analogous ports on the Turkish side, such as Batoum, Rizeh, and Trebizond. Behind the sandy beach of this low coast, marshy lands extend for many miles which are utterly impracticable. At remote intervals narrow causeways have been constructed across them, just sufficient for two horsemen to pass. Supposing the dangers of the sea to be disregarded, and the difficulties of disembarkation to be overcome, and troops landed, or provisions deposited on the beach, even then would little progress have been made towards their being forwarded to their ultimate destination. For if the Deona, on the other side of the Black Sea, is called the 'Valley of Death,' this might be

termed the 'Home of Death.' The encampment of the evening would become the hospital or the churchyard of the morning. Neither could cattle or men be brought there to carry away the provisions, nor could the troops landed issue into the healthier country in sufficient time to effect their retreat. These circumstances being perfectly well known no orders could be obeyed, issued with a view of sending detachments or provisions by this route. The coast is closed by the sea in the winter months, by the malaria in the summer months. Thus it is, that in no need, however great, was Russia able to send supplies by this route. Thus it was that Sebastopol never was of any active service to Russia.

The construction of Sebastopol was the vastest conception that ever entered the mind of the Russian Cabinet. Its own consciousness of its act is expressed in the name given to it, which may be rendered 'City of Veneration,' or 'City of Empire.' The great maritime expedition fitted out by Peter, at Astrachan, against Persia, and the pertinacity with which Russia has insisted on the exclusion of Persian vessels from that sea, may lead to the inference that the Caspian, at least, is available for warlike purposes.

It is commercial navigation which furnishes the sailors and soldiers for war. Such trade existed in the time of Peter; not so now. The depopulation of the neighbouring countries and the diminution of the waters from the disappearance of the forests, the encroachments of the sands upon the Eastern Steppes, and the rapid shoaling of the waters of the Caspian Sea, have changed the country in value no less than in aspect. Every year some creek is no longer accessible, some district goes out of cultivation, some village becomes extinct, or some tribe decamps.

The navigation of the Caspian presents greater difficulties than that of any other sea; being shut in from the ocean, it loses the advantage of experience and dexterity in its sailors, and can receive no supply, either in regard to qualification or numbers. It has no tides; it has no islands, capes, or protected lee shores. It is exceeding narrow in the direction of the prevailing winds, and a large portion of it is so shallow that vessels go aground even when out of sight of land. During a great portion of the

year it is wholly unfit for navigation. The vessels are of the rudest construction, and the worst materials, and are called *skhoules*. They are obliged to put to sea empty from Astrachan; twenty miles from shore they take in half their cargo, and it is not till they are put out one hundred or one hundred and twenty miles that they can complete their loading. The navigation of the Volga itself is in like manner interrupted by the shoaling of its waters, and every year brings a change for the worse.

In China, Russia, since her defeat of 1688, remained wholly in check until recent years, and now she has been effecting the most wonderful and rapid progress. Here the European Powers have been brought into play, a pretext being available—first, of objects special of their own as against China, and then the old one of jealousy of Russia, and the necessity of counteracting her.

Gustavus III. observed that ‘As Russia advances and becomes known, new enemies spring up under her feet, but she overcomes this resistance through her influence over Cabinets at a distance.’

ANDREW T. SIBBALD.

ART. III.—GAELIC HISTORICAL SONGS.

THE literature of the Celt has of late received attention enough to make some reparation for the neglect it previously suffered among the Teutonic races which had thrust the Celt into corners and refused to know anything concerning his poetry or legend. Within the past generation a large part of this has been made accessible to those who had previously no means of penetrating the veil which a language and idiom, so widely different from their own, threw over Celtic ways of thought and expression. The labours of native and other scholars, both British and Continental, have by translations and otherwise laid the more ancient legends of the Cymry and Goedel open to the student of folklore; the Irish annals have been worked up by native scholars, and attempts have been made to convey in translations some idea of the nature of the later poetic literature of the Irish and Scottish Celt. In the more immediate interests of the Celtic

student much has been done by the facsimile reproductions of the oldest Irish MSS, and by such compilations as J. F. Campbell's 'Leabhar na Feinne,' and almost every year sees important additions to these texts. The folklore of the present-day Celt has also been largely supplemented since the publication of Campbell's *Tales of the West Highlands*, and has every prospect of being still more increased.

Up to this time far more has been done to familiarize those who are not Gaelic readers with the prose literature than with the poetry of the Gael. The reason is not far to seek. 'It has always been the misfortune of this language to suffer in translation' is a remark which, though perhaps not made in sober earnest, is one of real significance. Every one who undertakes to render Gaelic verse into another tongue feels that his texts suffer sadly in the process. The Gael naturally explains this as a proof of the superiority of his own tongue, but the reason is probably very different. All Gaelic verse depends far more on its form than on its matter; the thought may be as trifling or trite as possible, but if there is harmony of sound, the Gael is satisfied. The recurrence of a vowel-sound makes more impression on him than the deepest thought. This demand for melody reacts on the poet and prevents him from following out any logical train of ideas, it being quite evident that the more involved the verse is, the more impossible it is to keep the sense as well as the sound. The extraordinary complications of rhyme which make Gaelic verse so harmonious are fatal to any depth of thought, even if the Gael had ever shown himself much given to this. Accordingly the more lyrical the metre becomes, the more difficult it is to narrate even a simple fact in it. Even the Ossianic ballads would be impossible in most of the metres used by the Gael during the past three centuries, just as the lays of the Edda could never have been done in the later verse-forms of the Skalds.

The beauty of Gaelic poetry being thus much more one of sound than of thought,* makes translation in the ordinary

* James Macpherson was well aware of this defect, though probably led to emphasize it by his desire to depreciate all Gaelic poetry, except such as

sense a very inadequate substitute for the original. The deep emotion which really exists in many of the poems is so inseparable from the form in which it is expressed, that any translation is apt to raise a smile rather than excite sympathy. Often the only course open to the translator is to translate the ideas as well as the words if he desires to gain the same effect as the original, and in this he lays himself open to the charge of importing into his translation ideas which the original does not express at all. Anyone who will compare Mr. Robert Buchanan's translation of Duncan Ban's 'Coire Cheathaich' with the original will see how much the translation gains in thought, while at the same time losing so much in sound effect.

Most of the translations hitherto attempted have been from the poets who belong to the great awakening of the Gaelic muse caused by the events of last century, and to their later followers and imitators. The action of the Government after the '15 and '45 broke up the old clan system and did away with the family-bards, but at the same time the political horizon of the Celt was widened beyond the interests of his own clan, and the result of this new sense of national life was the immediate rise of a new school of Gaelic poets whose works are known and admired by every Highlander. Beginning with Alexander Macdonald (*Alasdair MacMhaighstir Alasdair*) it has been continued in Dugald Buchanan (1716-1768), Rob Donn (1714-1778), Duncan Macintyre (*Donnachadh Bán*, 1724-1812), William Ross (1762-1790) and in many others of

he chose to call 'Ossian.' In a note towards the beginning of the fifth book of *Temora* he says of the Highlanders that, 'having no genius themselves for the sublime and pathetic, they placed the whole beauty of poetry in the returning harmony of similar sounds. . . . Rhiming, in process of time, became so much reduced into a system, and was so universally understood that every cow-herd composed tolerable verses. These poems, it is true, were descriptions of nature, but of nature in its rudest form; a group of uninteresting ideas dressed out in the flowing harmony of monotonous verses.' In the last sentence Macpherson particularly refers to the 'Songs of Summer' and similar compositions, which every Gaelic poet of last century and this felt bound to produce: Duncan Ban's is about as glaring a specimen as most of them, some verses being almost entirely adjectives.

lesser name down to the present day.* The rise of this new poetry of love and nature had very soon the effect of thrusting out the older personal poetry of the clan bards. Some traces of the old clan life, it is true, were familiar to the earlier members of the new movement, such as MacDonald and MacIntyre, and are represented in their works, but the loss of interest in the older bards was not long in coming, though their spirit still survived in the eulogies of which Highland lairds and chiefs have been made the objects down to our own time.

It is this earlier class of poems or songs† that form the subject of this article. It is almost impossible that they can ever be translated so as to give any idea of the nature of the originals, while at the same time there is much in them that is of genuine value and interest. They represent the real Celtic feeling and contain much information as to the ways of life of the Gael before southern influences had told seriously upon them. Many of them also had more or less the force of political pamphlets, and correspond to the works of the Irish bards of the 15th and 16th centuries, though it must be confessed that the political insight they show is meagre compared with that of some of their Irish brethren. There is a much more personal and lyrical cast about them, which finds expression in the more varied verse-forms, these being always of a lighter cast than the compact *dan direach* (straight metre) of the Irish bards. Of these Irish poems a large mass still exists, lying in manuscript, with no immediate prospect of seeing the light except in extracts. The Highland bards were rather more fortunate, in that many of their pieces found their way into print towards the end of last century, but for which they would have run a narrow risk of totally disappearing. In 1776,

* Macpherson's *Ossian*, Clark's *Mordubh*, etc., and Dr. Smith's *Sean Dana* belong to the same movement, but these were rather due to the interest taken in the Highlands by the Lowland Scots and English—an interest itself excited by the late rebellion.

† There was no distinction of poem and song in natural Gaelic poetry; all compositions were intended to be sung. Poems intended to be read are a foreign importation.

Ronald MacDonald (a son of the poet Alexander) published a valuable collection of the works of the old bards, along with several pieces of his father's. Though he did not meet with sufficient encouragement to induce him to proceed with a second volume as he had proposed, the work was afterwards revised and republished by P. Turner in 1809. Turner himself brought out a new collection in 1813, and these with some smaller ones have been the chief sources of all subsequent editions. A valuable addition to these texts has however been made within the past year or two by the Rev. A. Maclean Sinclair, who has printed from the MS. of Dr. MacLean of Mull, written about 1768. Beside containing a number of poems not in the previous printed works, this MS. gives in general better texts, and the editor has made his work still more valuable by adding numerous biographical and historical notes.* What is yet required is a complete corpus of collated texts with such historic notes as are necessary for the full understanding of them.

As has already been said, this school of bards began to decay about the middle of last century, though the force of tradition served to carry it on for a considerable time. On the other hand few of the specimens are earlier than the year 1600, and most of them belong to the latter part of the 17th century and beginning of the 18th. The earliest is the incitement to battle (*brosnachadh catha*) which was recited by Lachlan MacVurich to the MacDonalds before the battle of Harlaw, beginning, 'Children of Conn, remember your valour in the hour of

* *The Gaelic Bards from 1411 to 1715*, by the Rev. A. Maclean Sinclair, Charlottetown, 1890. The Glenbard Collection of Gaelic Poetry; do., 1888-90, (in 3 parts). It is to be regretted that these works could not be published in a better form, and it is to be hoped that the editor's offer to hand over Dr. MacLean's MS. to any one willing to publish it *litteratim* will not be neglected. The spelling is semi-phonetic, and in this connection it may be noted that pages 166 to 187 of R. MacDonald's collection are also more phonetic than the rest of the book, and have probably been taken from some older MS. The spelling of this part is recast in Turner's edition.

conflict.* A few belong to the 16th century, such as the panegyric on the Earl of Argyle, beginning, 'I will wend with a ready ditty to a King of the Gael,'† or the one in praise of Allan MacLean (*caismeachd Ailein nan sop*) by Hector, afterwards laird of Coll, about 1537.‡ With the 17th century, however, came a large number of bards whose works have been preserved, or at least a considerable part of them;—the well-known names of Mary MacLeod (*Mairi nighean A'sadair ruaidh*, c. 1590-1693) and John MacDonald (*Iain Lom*, or *Iain Manntach*, 1620-1709), besides Diorbhail nic a' Bhrìuthainn,§ Eachann Bacach ('limping Hector'), An Ciaran Mabach ('the dark stammerer,' i.e., Archibald MacDonald, son of Sir James MacDonald of Sleat), Gilleasbuig na Ceapaich (Archibald MacDonald of Keppoch), Iain mac Ailein (John MacLean of Mull) and many others of less note. Some of these lived into

* With the exception of these two lines at the beginning and twelve at the end, the 17 stanzas of the poem consist entirely of adverbs, all those in each verse beginning with the same letter and going through all the Gaelic alphabet from a to u, to the extent of 338 lines. So much does this unmeaning torrent of words appeal to the Gaelic mind that MacKenzie, (*Beauties of Gaelic Poetry*, p. 62) speaks of it with the greatest enthusiasm. A juster view of it is taken by a reviewer of Alex. M'Donald's poems in the *Gael* (vol. 3. p. 323), who says that in reading some of his verse, 'we are reminded painfully of MacVurich's address to the MacDonalds, which has also been called a poem. If accompanied with a translation it would make a pretty good dictionary.'

† *Triallfa mi le m' dhuanaisg ullaimh*, etc.; it is 'closed' at the end in Irish fashion by the repetition of the first word,—'*Leat a thriallfainn*,' (with thee would I wend). It is in MacDonald's collection (p. 253), and there dated 1569; a copy from a MS. in the possession of the Duke of Argyle was published in the *Gael* (Vol. I., p. 261) by J. F. Campbell. The date given there is 1528, with which MacNicol agrees (Remarks on Dr. Johnson's Journey, p. 270); 'there is a MS. poem by Maclean's bard in praise of Colin, Earl of Argyle, in 1529.'

‡ In the *Gael* (I. p. 296) is a lament for a lady of Duart taken from Dr. Irvine's MS., where it is dated 1530, but the style looks very much later.

§ This by the process of 'translating' Gaelic names into English becomes Dorothy Brown. So Peter is regarded as the 'English' of Patrick; Jeremy of Diarmaid; Bartholomew of Parlann (whence MacFarlane); Archibald of Gilleasbuig, etc. The old Gael substituted for foreign names any native ones that seemed to resemble them.

the following century, in the beginning of which also lies the active period of Cicely MacDonald (Silis nic Raonail, or Silis na Ceapaich) and John MacDonald (Ian dubh mac Iain mhic Ailein). A large number of the poets of this period were born about 1660-1670, and a good deal of this literary activity is no doubt due to the stirring events of the time of Dundee, in fact the whole history of modern Gaelic literature is an excellent illustration of the close connection between political and literary development.*

Of all these the one who most resembles the Irish bards in keen appreciation of the consequences of events and in political insight is undoubtedly *Iain Lom* (Bare John), the bard of Keppoch. From the time of the fight at Stron-a-chlachain (1640) down to the Union of the Scottish Parliament in 1707, there was little that intimately concerned his own clan which did not draw forth a poem from him.† His share in bringing about the battle of Inverlochy, and the part he took in executing justice on the Keppoch murderers, were sufficiently important in themselves, but his poems connected with these events were of far more influence than his own individual exertions. If anyone is entitled to rank beside him it is *Iain Mac Ailein*, but the latter was never so famous nor so influential. Compared with his, the songs of Mary MacLeod, sonorous and powerful as some of them are, are rather the outcome of a nurse's pride in the scions of the family she has reared, while Alexander MacDonald, with all his education and extraordinary command of the Gaelic tongue, can never get beyond the pomp and show of the clansmen in battle array,

* 'The rebellions, particularly that conducted by Tearlach Og Stiuart, 1745, inspired many an individual of both sexes with poetic fervour, who never before or after, felt the same irresistible impulse to invoke the muse.' MacKenzie, *Beauties of Gaelic Poetry*, Introduction, p. lv.

† The memory of the bard is perpetuated by the monument erected in 1873, over his grave at Dun Aingel in the Braes of Lochaber. A further tribute might justly be paid him by the publication of a complete edition of his poems, which at present are scattered throughout different collections to the number of at least 40, composed between 1640 and 1707. An edition was spoken of nearly 20 years ago, but apparently dropped.

and a fierce delight in 'splitting heads and slashing bodies'* of all the enemies of the Prince and the Gael.

Apart from the compositions of an original mind like Iain Lom's, the feature which most strikes one in reading these poems is the extraordinary family resemblance they bear to each other. The same ideas and expressions, even the same lines, occur in wearisome repetition, and the form above all is invariable. So tenaciously conventional is the Celtic mind that a form of poetry once invented will continue in the same shape for centuries, until some new impulse creates another form to succeed it. There is little gradual development: all change is rapid, and even then it may not follow that the old form will drop out. As in earlier times the old Cuchullin-cycle of tales was transformed into the Finn-cycle, and yet maintained so entire in itself that the two series are never confounded, so in Scottish Gaelic, the newer nature-poetry has not ousted the older personal style; and the hero of a Highland poet at the present day is praised in almost the same terms as his ancestor of three centuries ago. Such is the force of literary tradition, that habits and manners long extinct are seriously attributed to the modern laird or even crofter. An instance of this may be seen in MacDonald's description of his clansmen as equipped in coats of mail (*luireach=lorica*) at a time when these had long gone out of use. To this tenacity of tradition it is due that the poems throughout the whole period treated of here are all constructed more or less on the same lines, with but little to characterise the work of individual bards. One might have composed them as well as another.

Although we have given these poems the general title of historical, the larger portion of them are more strictly biographical, and have in view rather the persons concerned in an event than the circumstance itself. The bard feels an immediate and personal interest in the agent: he rarely shows much appreciation of the value or consequences of the act.

* It is curious on the one hand to notice how often this and similar savage phrases occur in MacDonald's war-poems; and on the other to remember that he was a kirk elder, a schoolmaster, and compiler of the first Gaelic vocabulary.

Even when he sets himself to describe an event, such as a battle, the interest is almost sure to be transferred to some of the chiefs or clans who fought there, and instead of information on the nature of the action we get a vague panegyric of the bravery of the chief or clan. It is this vagueness of expression that makes many of them almost valueless as a record of facts, and this is not redeemed by any poetic excellence of composition. So vague are most of them that it would sometimes, but for the traditional title, be difficult or impossible to tell to whom the poem referred; yet the whole is always couched in the most correct and high-sounding verse, which, as already explained, cannot be translated without losing most of the semblance of poetry.*

The subject of such poems is almost always the chief of the clan to which the bard belongs, and in spite of all their defects there is much to be learned from them. They are, within certain limits of time, faithful mirrors of old Highland life and customs: they give us pictures of the chief and his clan, of their amusements in peace and their exploits in war, of their dress and weapons, of the chase and the carouse, of all that interested the Highlanders in the 17th and 18th centuries; and through it all there is the spirit of hero-worship that so strongly marks the feelings of the Gael to his chief. They bring before us in the fulness of life men who otherwise only figure as partizans of Montrose or Dundee or the Pretender, and are little more than mere names in the general history of Scotland. There we simply hear of them at the head of a few hundred followers sharing in the battle of Inverlochy or Killiecrankie or Sheriffmuir, or denounced in State proclamations as rebels; here we meet them among their own people, and with

* Macpherson speaks thus of these compositions. 'The bards . . . erected their immediate patrons into heroes and celebrated them in their songs. As the circle of their knowledge was narrow, their ideas were confined in proportion. A few happy expressions and the manners they represent may please those who understand the language: their obscurity and inaccuracy would disgust in a translation.' (*Dissertation.*) The last sentence is completely true, but did Macpherson consider his own '*Ossian*' a model of perspicuity?

the sentiments of their adherents concentrated in the praises of the bard. So much is this the case that the poetry of the whole period now under consideration may be described as the glorification of the chief and of clanship—the final apology of the Celt for his ancestral life—and no hireling praise as is sometimes asserted,* but the outcome of a genuine natural feeling.

To look at the history of Scotland through the medium of these poets is a curious experiment. We pass at once into a new atmosphere; the perspective is totally changed, and the relative importance of events completely altered. Highlands and Lowlands at that time have little in common, except where the red hand of war chances to lay its fingers on both. Thus almost the only incident in Scottish history before the Union of the Crowns which concerns the bards is the battle of Harlaw (*Cath Ghairbhich*), where the great MacLean, Hector Roy (*Eachann ruadh*) was killed. The great political importance of the defeat is never recognised, and the fact itself is generally mentioned only because another Hector Roy MacLean (*Eachann ruadh nan cath*) was killed at Inverkeithing, the mention of this naturally recalling the former days, 'when they lifted the body of Hector from among the feet of their foes on their shearing axes, bearing it home through the Lowlands.'

After this the next conflicts of national importance which at

* e.g. by Macpherson. 'What the modern bards are most insupportable in are their nauseous panegyrics upon their patrons. We see in them a petty tyrant, whose name was never heard beyond the contracted limits of his own valley, stalking forth in all the trappings of a finished hero. From the frequent allusions, however, to the entertainments which he gave and the *strength of his cups* we may easily guess from whence proceeded the praise of an indolent and effeminate race of men; for the bards from the great court paid originally to their order became at last the most flagitious and dispirited of mortals. Their compositions therefore on this side of a certain period are dull and trivial to the highest degree. By lavishing their praises upon unworthy objects their panegyrics became common and little regarded.' (Note in *Temora*, Bk. 7). There is some truth in this, but the critic fails to allow for the honest admiration of the great man: 'petty tyrant' is a vile phrase, elsewhere repudiated by Macpherson himself.

all interested the Highlanders were those fought by Montrose, and the bards supply us with songs on the battles of Auldearn (*Allt Eirinn*) and Inverlochy. But the one relating to Auldearn is a panegyric of Alasdair mac Cholla (son of Colkitto, *Colla Ciotach*); and that on Inverlochy is dictated partly by admiration for the same Alasdair, partly by an implacable hatred of the Campbells.* Montrose is barely mentioned in these poems, though Iain Lom elsewhere refers to the personal appearance of the Marquess. The battle of Inverkeithing in 1651 is the occasion of two poems, but these are laments for Hector Roy who fell there.†

The battle of Killiecrankie‡ has received most justice from the Highland bards, and Iain Lom's poem§ on it is the clearest piece of Gaelic verse that can be produced from this period. He tells how they started for the head of Lochail with their knapsacks on (*fo na cnapan-na-saig*), marched till night, and pitched their camp at the head of Lochail from Saturday till Wednesday (*Latha roimhe Dhi-domhnaich 's da latha 'na dheigh*): then on to Glenroy and Glenturret, and over Drumachdar into Athole, where they only found the women, as all the men had gone out of the way. After mid-day, as they

* Both are by Iain Lom; the first in Turner, p. 90, and Sinclair, *Glenbard Coll.*, p. 13; the second in Turner, p. 49, and Sinclair, *Gaelic bards*, p. 68.

† Both are in R. MacDonald's collection, pp. 178 and 232. A better version of the former is in Sinclair's *Gaelic bards*, p. 50.

‡ The actual scene of the battle was not Killiecrankie but Raon-ruairidh, and this is the name given to it in Gaelic. Silis of Keppoch, however, calls it *Coille-chriothnaich*.

§ Beginning 'S mithich dhuinn marsadh as an tir' ('Tis time for us to march out of the land.') Turner, p. 70. There are two curious lines of English in the last verse. The loss of Dundee and others is lamented in another poem on the battle by Iain Lom, beginning 'An ainm an aigh ni mi tus.' Gillies, p. 180; Sinclair's *Gaelic Bards*, p. 90. In this he calls the battlefield 'Raon ruairi nam bad (of the clumps of trees). In the lament for Sir Donald of Sleat, however, he refers to the bareness of the ground (above Urrard House) where the Highlanders made their first charge. 'At Raonruairi of the blows, where you won the field, you lost your gentlemen and armed youths. On the withered hard ground where the leveret could not hide its ear, you received the sweeping fire of grey lead.'

were going down by the river side, a horseman came and reported that Mackay and his troops were at the mouth of the pass. The army turned north, held up the hill, 'where there was plenty of sweat on every brow,' and drew up in order on the heights above. 'At the close of the day when we drew our swords, it was beginning to darken as the sun went down: in spite of resistance, though high were their hopes, they lost the field and their lives as well. Noble commander, you fell on the field: 'tis the death of Dundee that has left gloom on me, made a hole in my heart and left tears on my cheek: the beasts that fell were but a small revenge for you,' etc.

With this may be contrasted the much longer poem on the same subject, the authorship of which is doubtful.* This is a fair sample of the usual style, the poet being much more concerned about the chiefs who fell than with what was actually achieved by the battle itself. After an eulogy of *Cleibhirs* (Claverhouse), and regret for his loss ('the day of Dunkeld showed that the life was not in your body'), there is the vaguest possible account of how the Gael defeated the troops under Mackay, who were but 'men of kail and brose' (*luchd a' chàil is a' bhruthaist*). Then come eighteen verses of lament for and praise of the dead, finishing up with a sorrowful passage about the unsuccessful attack on Dunkeld, the bard's chief regret being that it was by shot the heroes fell, and that 'cow-herds fired it.' 'If only we and our enemies were on level ground without a wall or braes, we would be sure of our valour. It would be seen then who was most famous in the play of hard swords, the poor carls of the plain, or the bold men of the hills.'

There are a number of references to Sheriffmuir (*Shiabh an t-Siorrainh*), but the poem by Silis of Keppoch is no improvement on the usual run, and on the whole the poetry of the '15 is of less value than the rest. The '45 has a better display,

* It appears, however, to have been by a Glencoe man. One account gives the name of Aonghas mac Alasdair Ruaidh; another Raonall na sgeithe (Sinclair's *Gaelic Bards*, p. 103)—both Glencoe men. Gillies has two versions: one, p. 142, assigned to the said *Angus of Glencoe*; the other, p. 270, to *Eoin mac Alasdair Ruaidh*.

though the first victory, that of Prestonpans, is quite ignored, except where it is said of a Highland Major,* 'You gained honour in Cope's battle (*blar Chop*): you were chief above every man, and they all likened you to Clavers.' The battle of Falkirk (*Blár na h-eaglais brice*) is the subject of two of Duncan Ban's earliest poems;† but the first only gives an account of the engagement as a prelude to the satirical remarks about Mr. Fletcher's sword; the other is a general lament for Prince Charles, speaking especially of Falkirk as being the battle with which the author was himself concerned. The first of these has a vein of excellent humour in it, when Duncan pictures the sudden reversal of the expectations of the Royal troops. 'We did not get a word of command to try to cut down our enemies; but permission to scatter through the world, and some of us have not been found yet.'

In a totally different strain are the two poems,‡ full of indignation and yearning for vengeance, in which Colonel John Roy Stewart commemorates the fatal day of Culloden. There is in these something that appeals to us in a way that most of the others do not, a genuine breadth of view, a spirit cast down but not broken, a strange combination of defiance and despair. 'Though they won the battle it was not by reason of their hardihood or valour, but the wind and showers that blew in our faces from the Lowland plains,' as if the very elements were fighting against them.§ Again he attributes the defeat to the want of the clans who ought to have been there: five banners were wanting that might have turned the scale—the Earl of Cromarty, young Barasdale, MacMhic Ailein, Clan Gregor, and the M'Phersons. With a keen insight into the Highland character, he regrets that the battle was fought

* Gillios Mor Mac Bheathain, fear Chinne-Choille. Turner, p. 188.

† Beginning 'Latha dhuinn air machair Alba,' and 'Ged a tha mi 'n so 'am chrùban.' The latter, being a Jacobite piece, was first printed by Turner in 1813.

‡ 'Gur a mór mo chuis mhulaid,' Turner p. 147, and 'O, gur mis' th' air mo chràdh; *Id.* p. 304.

§ 'The earth waxed so heavy, heather and ground and soil that the bare hillside was not easy for us. The Lowlander's fire showering bullets about our heads spoilt the efficacy of our swords to our loss.'

where it was. 'Tis a pity we had not been in England, and not so near home as we were, and we should not have scattered so quickly.' He laments the sorrows of the Gael, and curses Lord George Murray 'the Achan in the camp,' but his fiercest maledictions are reserved for the Duke of Cumberland (*Uilleam mac Deors*): 'may he be like a leafless branchless tree, may his hearth be bare, without wife or brother or son, without sound of harp or light of wax; without joy or mirth; but we shall yet see thy head on high on a tree and the birds of the air tearing it.'

Several of the clan-fights have also provided the materials of songs, but these are not numerous. Three are by Iain Lom: one on the death of Angus mac Raonuill og,* who was killed at the fight of Stron-a-chlachain (1640), which arose out of a plundering expedition made into Breadalbane by the MacDonalds of Glencoe and Keppoch. Iain Lom's father was killed in this engagement. Another two † relate to the strife between the Argyle and Athole men, the latter, who were defeated at Tom-a-phubail, avenging it in the fight at Aird-reanaich near Inverary. The last clan-fight, which took place at Mulroy (*Maol ruadh*) between Lachlan MacIntosh, chief of the Clan Chattan, and Coll of Keppoch, in 1688, is commemorated in a poem by Duncan Stewart,‡ who was Coll's standard-bearer, but it has no great merit.

One historical event, the memory of which has probably affected the Lowlands as much as the Highlands, may here be mentioned. The massacre of Glencoe is the subject of an elegy § of unusual merit by the bard of the murdered chief.||

* 'Rìgh, gur mor mo chuid mulaid.' Turner, p. 98.

† 'S ann air leth-taobh Beinne-buidhe,' and 'Slan gun dith dhuit, a Mhareuis;' Turner, pp. 60 and 64.

‡ Donnachadh mac an Dubhshuilich. Turner calls him Donnacha Duileach. The poem begins *Ho faireagan o ho*, Turner, p. 143; a longer version is in Sinclair's *Gaelic Bards*, p. 98.

§ 'Mìle marbhphaisg ort, a shaoghail,' MacDonald, p. 241. The version in Sinclair's *Gaelic Bards*, p. 138, begins 'Lamh Dhe leinn, etc.'

|| Hence called Bard Mhic-'ic-Iain (the family title of the Glencoe MacDonalds being Mac-'ic-Iain). After the massacre he lived in the island of Muck, and is hence also called 'am bard Mucanach.'

Despite the many poems which this savage act has given rise to in more recent times, it may be doubted whether any of them surpass this. The manner in which the praise of the dead is combined with the sorrow for their loss is inimitable, and their desire for vengeance at the end is in perfect harmony with the nature of the deed.

The compositions of this class then are, strictly speaking, neither war-songs nor historical poems; they are not primarily meant either as incitements to war (which was the function of the *brosnachadh catha*) nor as accurate descriptions of battles. They represent the feelings of the poet at the result of the engagement, feelings which he knew would be reciprocated by the whole clan to which he belonged. The national importance of the event did not appeal to him or to them; their political horizon was too circumscribed to understand the real nature of the issues involved, and all that concerned them was firstly, the result to their own clan, and only secondarily, the effect on the rest of the Gael; and even then almost the only point insisted on is the sorrow and grief felt at the loss of chief or clansmen. Little notice is taken of the gradual breaking up of the old Celtic institutions, a process too gradual to be readily apparent, and which even the bards were scarcely farsighted enough to foresee. Only after the final failure of 1745 was the truth forced in upon them.

To a considerable extent, therefore, even this class of poems falls under the glorification of the chief, to which the others are devoted. These latter fall into two main divisions, the eulogy or panegyric (*oran*,* *moladh*), and the lament or elegy (*cumha*, *marbhrann*). Though entirely different in tone their contents are not so distinct as might be expected. After the exordium both fall into the same strain, descriptive of the chief's personal qualities, his dress and weapons, etc. Further, so conventional is the form that almost every eulogy or elegy can be fitted into the same framework, though the parts are of varying lengths according to the fancy of the poet, and some-

* *Oran*, which means a song in general, is the more usual title, as 'An *oran* to Lachlan Mackinnon of Strath,' etc.

times in different order. The points dwelt upon, however, are nearly always the same, and the ordinary elegy for example may be thus analysed :—

1. The bard tells how sorrowful and sad he is.
2. The reason of this :—his chief is dead ; the manner of his death.
3. Personal qualities of the chief—appearance, character, descent, prowess in the field and in the chase.
4. His dress and arms.
5. His followers : his generosity and hospitality to them.
6. His friends and kinsmen among the other clans.

Under one or other of these heads everything contained in the usual style of lament can be placed, and the unvarying character of the descriptions becomes exceedingly wearisome after a time. There are, it is true, a few that stand out by themselves, and which taken apart from others are deserving of all praise,* but the common herd of them are only redeemed from being inexpressibly dull by 'a few happy expressions and the manner they represent.' Even then the expressions seem rather less happy when they occur perhaps a dozen times in as many different poems. Above all there is no appreciation of form, and one can never see why the poem should stop where it does, except that the bard simply 'ran out' there.

In this as in the former class the perspective is totally new to the student of general history. The great names of Scotland are conspicuously absent until after the '45, when references to older Scottish history become more frequent. Even those who for a time united the clans to some extent, Montrose or Dundee, are barely mentioned. The bard's own chief was to him a much more important person than any other, however great he might be. Nor do we find that the Highland chiefs best known to Scottish history hold the foremost place in these songs. Rob Roy or Lord Lovat, though

* Such as the lament for MacGregor of Ruaro, the calm dignity and reserve of which distinguish it from the 'reckless fluency' of so many others. It was evidently a great favourite in the end of last century, and might serve as a model of the elegy. The address to Mackinnon of Strath seems also to have been in repute as a good specimen of the 'Oran.'

indeed not unmentioned, are not at all great men in their own country.* Even the man who is usually regarded as the model of a chief, Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel, owes any record of his fame to a bard of another clan. The reason of this is not far to seek. The clans which clung most tenaciously to the old Celtic customs were those in the Western Highlands, and especially those which had possessions in the islands as well on the mainland, just as at the present day the old legends are best preserved in these districts. Of these clans three stood out before the rest,—the MacDonalds, MacLeans, and MacLeods, and these still adhered to many of the old customs, among others to the maintenance of the bards. Hence the large part which these three clans play in the songs, especially the MacDonalds,† who numbered a long line of poets, unequalled by any other clan. The Campbells and Camerons produced very few; such specimens of the Argyle bards as are preserved have more of the Irish than of the Scottish style. A number of the smaller clans in these districts, especially such as still retained their warlike character, also produced poets of considerable merit, but none who have left any large number of poems. Such are the Macraes, MacKenzies,‡ Morrisons, (to whom the *Clarsair Dall* belonged), MacKinnons (*Lachainn mac Thearlaich oig*, 1665-1734), Mathiesons (*an t-aosdana Mac*

* The elegy on Rob Roy beginning '*Rinn mi suidh' aig a' charn*' is of no special merit. One whose prowess was more esteemed by his clan was *Iain dubh gearr*, whose praises are sung in the excellent song *Na tulaichean*: *Iain dubh* succeeded Gilderoy as chief of the MacGregors. v. *Scot. Review*. Oct. 1890, p. 306.

† The list of MacDonald poets comprises:—Domhnall MacFhionnlaidh (author of *Oran na comhachaig*); an Ciaran Mabach (Archibald MacD. of Sleat): *Iain Lom*: *Gilleasbuig na Ceapaich*: his son *Aonghas Odhar* and daughter *Silis na Ceapaich*: *Raonall na sgeithe*: *am bard Mucanach*: *Alasdair Bhoth-Fhiuntainn*: *Domhnall donn mac fhir Bhoth-Fhiuntainn*: *Iain dubh mac Iain mhic Ailein*: *Alasdair mac Mhaighstir Alasdair*: *Iain Mac Codrum*. Among the MacLean bards are *Echann tigherrna Chola*, *Echann bacach*, *Lachann Mac mhic Iain*, *Caitriona ni'n Eoghainn mhic Lachainn*: *Iain mac Ailein*; *Mairearad ni'n Lachainn*. *John MacLean* (1787-1848) was the last clan bard.

‡ The clan-song of the MacKenzies however, *Cabar feidh* (stag's head) was composed by a MacLeod of Assynt (*Tormod ban MacLeod*).

Mhathan), MacPhersons (*Niall mac Mhuirich*) etc. There is also a number of songs relating to members of the smaller clans by unknown authors, and some of these are much more worth preserving than many of those by the more famous bards. Of these the MacGregors possess several very fine pieces, such as the lament for Gregor MacGregor by his wife,* that for MacGregor of Ruaro (*Ruadh shruth*) by an unknown hand, and the 'Song to the Clan Gregor,'†—compositions which are an honour to the genius of that unfortunate clan.

Such is the native literary material from which we may obtain a glimpse into old Highland life, coloured indeed by the imagination and diction of the poet, but in the main truly rendered. Extensive as the literature is in quantity it is limited in range, and much of it might have been lost without seriously diminishing the information to be drawn from it. The remainder of this article will be devoted to a sketch of the chief and the clan as they appear in the works of the bards, and if Ari the Learned thought himself justified in writing history from the songs of the skalds, we may be fairly entitled to use these compositions, so similar in their aim, if not in their

* Turner, p. 286, 'Moch madainn air la Lunasd' (early on Lammas morning): Sinclair, *Gaelic Bards*, p. 18. has a slightly different version. The story of Gregor's wife is a sad one. A daughter of a Campbell (either of Glenlyon or Glenurchy) her father wished her to be married to the Baron of Dall, but she preferred the 'lawless and landless' MacGregor. Gregor was executed at Castle Balloch (Taymouth) by Sir Colin Campbell of Glenurchy in 1570.

† Turner, p. 283, 'S mi 'm shuidhe 'n so 'm ónar' (I am sitting alone), in the Inverness collection of 1806 the first verse begins 'N nochd cha dean mi gair' eibhinn,' which seems better. This song is attributed to a woman, who composed it to throw the pursuers off the track of some MacGregors who had taken refuge in her house 'when the chase was on them and the black dogs after them.' While she sat by the wayside and sang this the MacGregors escaped by the back of the house. It begins by wondering where the MacGregors are: she had heard of them being about Lochfine and in Glachan-an-Diseirt: and ends with the prayer. 'May the King of the elements guard you from the venomous powder, and from the sparks of fire: from bullet and arrow: from the slender-pointed knife (*sgian*) and the sharp-edged sword.' The pursuers were convinced that the clan had not come that way and went off in another direction.

form, for a less serious purpose, since fortunately the history of the clans may be got at from more prosaic and less ambiguous sources.

As a large proportion of the songs were handed down orally for a century, more or less, it would be no wonder if tradition had become confused as to the persons to whom they related or the authors themselves,—all the more since it is often impossible from the vague remarks of the poet to draw any certain conclusion on the point, even when the chief's name is given. As a matter of fact, however, tradition has in most cases preserved with apparent accuracy both the name of the chief and poet, since the discrepancies in independent collections are very few.* But for the heading their proper date and place would often be difficult to discover. The clan, however, is not hard to find, as the poet must somewhere or other praise it, and he always mentions the person's name: but as several chiefs in succession often bore the same name this is not always a certain index. Such a title as 'Lament for young John of Scalpa' gives little information, and the song itself often little more, or even less, being nearly all composed of vague expressions of sorrow and praise. Where the chief was concerned in any important event the mention of this helps to fix the date, but many a chief passed his whole life without any greater achievement than an occasional raid on his neighbours. A large number of the songs preserved, however, naturally relate to well-known chiefs, whose lives can be traced from clan-histories, state-papers, and other memoirs: such as Alasdair mac Cholla, the MacLeans of Duart, the MacLeods of Dunvegan and Bernera, the MacDonalds of Sleat, Keppoch, and Glengarry. From the part they play in history

* Such are the poem on Killiecrankie ascribed to two different authors; the one beginning *Mìle mallachd do'n ol* ('a thousand curses on drinking') assigned to Patrick Roy MacGregor (*Para ruadh Mac Griogair*: v. Highland Legends by Glenmore, i.e., Donald Shaw of Inchrorie in Strathavon), and to Donald Donn of Bohuntin (Sinclair, *Gaelic Bards*, p. 120); the former seems more likely. Several others are equally doubtful; nevertheless the general agreement of the accounts is a remarkable proof of the interest taken by the Highlanders in the works of the bards.

we can often see the character of these chiefs, some of them like Sir Hector of Duart, bold and impetuous, ever ready for battle, but with no prudence or self-restraint: others, like Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel, as far-seeing and persevering as they were brave: others like Alasdair mac Cholla, mere free-booters, earning their livelihood by plunder and mercenary warfare: but all these distinctions are lost in the indiscriminating panegyric of the bard. There is no real effort made to paint individual character. A minute of the Privy Council or the record of a state trial will often give more insight into the character of a chief, than the longest effort of a bard who thoroughly admired him. To the bard he is faultless, and possessed of all virtues: he is always a pattern of bravery and wisdom,—‘milder than a maiden’ in peace: ‘fiercer than a lion’ in war. He is ‘the big strong heroic man that was a mirror for all.’ His sense and prudence are constantly extolled, and even his characteristic pride is not reckoned as a blemish. ‘It is little wonder though you are proud with the blood of so many noble lines in your veins,’* is the usual expression. Mary MacLeod says of her chief, ‘thou art a true drop, fair and courteous, with the nobility of the peacock (*uaiste na peucaige*). Nor is the personal appearance of the chief to be learned very much from the songs, though often implied in the name commonly given him, such as ‘short black John.’ His hair, his eyes, his complexion, etc., are all praised in a conventional way that would suit any other person almost equally well. Sometimes a departure is made from this, not with the best of success. In a song referring to Mackinnon of Strath, the bard, more honest than his fellows, says, ‘there was no fault about you from your elbow to your fist, from your crown to your shoe, except the crook in your nose, and it wasn’t ugly.’† In a similar strain another says of Alasdair mac Cholla, ‘There was no fault about you to speak of, although it were written on paper, except the amount of pride in your nose,’—from which

* The usual Gaelic for this is the curious phrase ‘about your shoulders’ (*‘s a liuthad fuil rioghail ’tha sioladh mu ’d ghuaillibh*. Turner, p. 196.)

† Ach a’ chruime bha ’d shróin ’s cha b’ éitidh. (Glenbard Coll., p. 272.)

we may perhaps infer that Alasdair's nose was a turned-up one.

The chief's descent was an important part of his fame, and also reflected honour on the clan which was supposed to be connected with him by blood, though this was certainly a mere exercise of the imagination. 'Keen historians knew this tale,' how the chief came from Dermid, or Conn, or Ruairi, and were not slow to tell it. Mary MacLeod constantly refers to the Norse origin of her chiefs: 'Bold men of Lochlann were the beginning of your history, the expert race of the stock of Magnus': 'race of Olgar of the swords'; 'from Olgar art thou,'* are her phrases. 'Thy descent and nobility, 'tis no mean thing to trace them: of the direct blood of the kings of Lochlann, that was the beginning of your history: your kinship can be easily traced to every earl in Alban, and to the nobles of Erin.'† So the fairy's lullaby (*taladh na beanshith*),‡ sung to an infant heir of Dunvegan, speaks of the 'Race of the MacLeods of the swords and mail-coats, Lochlann was the land of your ancestors.' The MacLeans, too, are the 'race of kings,' and the MacDonalds are 'of the race of the kings of the fair-strangers (Fionna-ghall—Norsemen) of the white handled cups and the chequered banners.' The MacDonalds collectively§ are generally called 'the race of Conn' (*siol Chuinn*), and are addressed as 'children of Conn of the hundred battles,' in MacVurich's war song. Their ancestor, Somerled, is also occasionally referred to: 'since Somhairle begat them no disgrace was ever found in them.' The Campbells have several names which are more commonly used than the simple *Caim-beulaich*. From their mythical ancestor Dermid (*Diarmaid ua*

* Lochlannaich threun Toiseach bhuir sgeil, aliochd seolta bh' air freumh Mhanuis,—aliochd Ollaghair nan lann,—Ollaghairreach thu.

† *Luinneag mhic Leoid*, v. 4.

‡ Printed in the *Gael*, vol. i., p. 236.

§ The different branches of a clan were denoted by the name of the founder; thus the chief of the Glencoe MacDonalds was *Mac-'ic-Iain*: that of the Glengarry family *Mac-'ic-Alasdair*: the Callart branch of the Camerons was called *Sliochd Iain mhic Ailein* (race of John, son of Allan, i.e., *Ailean nan creach*, the first laird of Callart, etc.)

Duibhne) they are called *sliochd Dhiarmaid* and *Diubhnich* (often corrupted into *Guimhnich* and *Guinich*) and *clann O' Duibhne*. The MacDougalls are in one place called 'the race of Olaf of red shields,' who was king of Man. The more ambitious senachies carry the genealogies back according to the approved Irish history to Gathelus, or Ebhir, or Erimon. 'Race of high earls; 'tis long since ye came from Spain,' says Mairearad ni 'n Lachainn of the MacLeans. So, too, Iain mac Ailein, 'ye are the descendants of kings from the bounds of Spain, of the race of Gathelus of bold deeds. From him sprang nobles that were victorious and famous; of these were the sons of Milidh (Milesius) of the brave exploits; they conquered Erin with the strength of their hands.' It is not to be expected, however, that the songs should enter into the intricacies of Gaelic genealogy which it was the peculiar pride and privilege of bard and senachie to unravel (and invent).

With such noble history to look back on, it is little wonder that to every bard his own chief was a power in the Highlands. 'Peacemaker of the Hebrides,' 'battle-pillar of the Isles,' are the titles given them. 'If you were at home you would be at the head of the men of Alban,' says another. Of MacLean of Duart it is said, 'between Scalpa and the Sound of Islay, though wide are the bounds, a part of every land of them was paying tribute to you.' In the praise of Alasdair mac Cholla the poetess says, 'War cannot be made without you, nor peace without your consent.' The Campbell bards are not less sparing in their statements, perhaps with more reason, since the Argyle family were so often invested with royal authority. 'Thou did'st obtain from the King (and well wast thou worthy of it) to be high chief over the men of Alban, and supreme judge of goods and lives. Thou art high keeper and warder on yonder borders; thou did'st come to overcome thy enemies and obtain peace. In the high council of Alban thou didst steer all; none ever heard of one so good since the time of William Wallace, chief of men, without equal among mankind; Cailean after him is peerless, the Earl of Aray.' The main test of a chief's fame seems to have been that it had

reached Ireland : 'Famous among the Irish was the valour of your hand.'

The chief himself is always famous as a warrior and a hunter : 'Thou art a pillar of battle before thousands.' 'Thou wast valiant with good semblance as was Oscar among the Fiann.' As a hunter he is the 'man of readiest hand by the side of rivers and hills,' 'Hunter of wild-goose and *cathan*,*' and the blunt-nosed seal by the sea.' 'Thou wast foe to the badger that comes from the braes of the den, and to the salmon that leaps in the stream,' 'Thou wast slayer of the fish with the torch.'† But it is the chase of the deer that is the noblest occupation.‡ This was carried on by the aid of deer-hounds, and both the bow and gun were employed. 'When you would go to the moor the chase would succeed right well with you, with your leash of trained dogs behind you when you go, as well as the slender sure rifle, hard and straight without bend in it ; thou wast hunter of the doe, of the cock and the heath-hen.' 'Dear to thee the swift dogs to go travelling the hills, and the gun that failed not its hammer.§ 'Thy greyhounds would be on the leash waiting for the chase in the fair corries.' 'When you went to the chase it was heavy on your ghillies with your big dogs.' The 'folk of the white tails and red coats,' as Mary Macleod calls the deer, may well have been pleased when some of the chiefs died. Now that Sir James MacDonald is dead, says the bard, his clan are 'without youths to travel the hills, without desire to seek the seal, without greyhounds straining their leashes : in peace to-night is the deer on the hills.'

The delight of the Celt in ornament and show of every kind is well shown by the manner in which the songs describe the

* A species of wild-goose.

† Spearing salmon with the trident (*morgha*, *muirgheadh*) by torch-light.

‡ The delight of the Highlander in deer-stalking is well expressed in the 'Song of the Owl,' (*oran na comhachaig*). 'So long as I remain here with the breath of life in my body, I would stay beside the deer : that is the herd in which I delight.'

§ i.e. That always went off when wanted, which was not a constant occurrence with a flint-lock.

dress and arms of the chief and his clansmen. By this time the sentimental affection for the Highland dress had not appeared, but the bard takes a genuine delight in picturing the handsome man in a handsome garb. The plaid (*breacan*) and kilt (*feile*) are constantly mentioned: 'well the plaited plaid becomes you about the rounded kilt,' and similar phrases, occur *passim*. MacDonald describes his clansmen in war-array in this wise:—'That is the band that would be handsome with blue bonnets and cockades in them, and their plaids in the fashion, with scarlet garters, the plaited kilt on their haunches, a pair of pistols and a Spanish sword.'* The kilt however was not the invariable dress,† especially on the west coast and among gentlemen, and the songs make frequent mention of the trews (*triubhais*, called also *triubhais chaol*, the narrow trews); 'well the trews become you, neither strait nor scant; and no worse do the hose set you, and the stout shoe with slender sole,‡ is the description of Donald Campbell, piper to Archibald of Keppoch, and a dress of this kind is elsewhere summed up as, 'coat and collar, blue trews, shoes and bonnet.' The trews or kilt made the Highlander; the Lowlanders are distinguished by wearing trousers (*luchd brìgis*). In these descriptions of dress even the linen shirt (*leine 'n anairt*) is not forgotten; 'there is not a shirt that he put on him that my own daughter did not sew,' occurs in a lament for Lachlan

* The custom of throwing off the plaid before entering into battle is several times referred to. MacDonald in praise of drink says, 'Tis thou that would leave us bold in the pursuit, when the sharp blades are drawn to the nose, when the plaids are cast off by the host, and the claymore comes out of the sheath.' So in Silis of Keppoch's account of the battle of Sheriffmuir, 'We got orders to leave our plaids and it was not to sermon that the clan went on;' and at Killiecrankie we hear of the 'Gael without plaids charging the red-coats.'

† One of Lord George Murray's orders before the battle of Culloden was, 'The Highlanders to be in kilts,' showing that the wearing of it was not looked on as a matter of course.

‡ Compare Cleland's lines:—

With brogues, trues, and pirlie plaids,
With good blue bonnets on their heads . . .
A slash't out coat beneath her plaides.

MacLean by his sister. Clothes brought by merchants were especially admired; 'a bonnet from the booth would cover the curling locks of my love, and a light dark-blue coat from London;' 'a coat of Spanish cloth you'll wear, that guinea and crown will go to pay,' and so much did the Highland chiefs in the end of last century go in for this foreign finery that the bards finally began to satirize it as a departure from the simplicity of their ancestors.

The Act forbidding the wearing of the Highland dress only increased the attachment to it, and the poets become more enthusiastic in its praises. The most famous song of this kind is MacDonald's *Am breacan uallach*, in which he scorns the 'English cloth' that other bards had extolled when on the persons of their chiefs. The kilt is the 'hero's garb,' 'the soldier's true dress,' 'the real garb for a pursuit, for putting swiftness in the legs.' It is the best for the chase or for going to the church, for lying down or getting up, for protection from the weather, for showing off shield and sword, and keeping the gun dry,—in fact for everything. A more humorous production on the same subject is one by Iain MacCodrum; 'curses on the King,' he says, 'that took the plaid from us. . . . You gave us the breeks, you fettered our hips; I would rather have the loose plaid, the light active garment. It's a bad wear for night: I can't stretch my legs, I can't get any sleep: better were the ten yards I would put in the kilt, when I rise in the morning; that's the comely raiment to keep off wind and rain. The curse of the two worlds on the man that put it out. . . . You never saw a mother's son, on street or field, that is more active than a son of the Gael with his comely person. The plaid above the kilt, his pistols in order that will not fail the spark, a shield upon his shoulder and a slender sword beneath his arm: there is not a Lowlander in the world that would not fade away at the sight of him. When the Gael gather for the battle with their sharp Spanish blades and the gleaming of helmets they will pay dearly in blood and gore and the day of Culloden will be avenged. . . . The MacDonalds, the tailors of the red cloth, not to sew it but to rend it with their sharp-shearing blades cutting ears and skulls.'

Two songs by Lachlan MacPherson of Strathmashie are also fairly humorous on the subject of the 'breeks.' In one of these, 'the song of the dun breeks' (*oran na brìgis lachduinn*) he suggests that it is the women who ought to wear them, and specially objects to them as being uncomfortable to go through water with. In the other a deer makes sport of the hunter who has come out to the chase in this unaccustomed guise. The latter protests that it is not of his own free will he came in that way, he would prefer the kilt and plaid, but the hard-hearted stag threatens to go and denounce him as having a gun and plaid in his possession.

Among a people like the Highlanders of that period, who still maintained the warlike habits of their ancestors, there was naturally a great admiration for good weapons, which still continued long after they had become mere ornaments for bodies of militia or for Highland gatherings. Accordingly we find the description of arms occupying a large part of many of the songs, giving indications of the Highlander's preferences in the way of weapons. Some of the later accounts are no doubt mere poetic traditions or flights of fancy, but in the main the accounts are quite accurate. The favourite weapon was the sword (*lann*; *claidheamh*), sometimes silver-hilted (*chinn airgid*) or 'head-ribbed' (i.e., with basket hilt, *cinn-aisneach*) 'with its hard cutting keen blue edge.' The broad-sword (*claidheamh mor*, whence *claymore*), and small sword (*cl. caol*), were the two kinds in use. The Spanish blade (*lann Spainteach*) was greatly esteemed, and *spainteach* by itself is used for a sword, as well as for a gun. The Isla hilt was also famous: 'many an Isla hilted sword' is assigned to the MacDonalds. From the groove (*clais*) down the centre of the blade a sword was also called *claiseach*, and special mention is made of swords with three grooves: 'the sword that is called the three-grooved, and a good Isla hilt in it too: 'a sharp Spanish blade of three grooves,' etc., occur in the older songs, and Duncan Ban uses the phrase several times.

The other edged weapons used were the 'pointed keen-cutting' dirk (*biodag*), and the knife (*sgian, core*). The latter is generally spoken of as the murderer's weapon, as by Iain Lom

in his poem on the Keppoch murder; 'they were my dear ones, the fair bodies in which the knives were thrust so thickly.' The axe (*tuagh*), which was not a native Celtic weapon, is rarely mentioned; 'of the axes,' however, is an epithet of the MacLeans (*Clann Ghilleain nan tuagh*) from their ancestor 'Gilleoin of the axe.' The pike (*pic*) is also spoken of occasionally but not with any special admiration.

The shield (*sgiath*) or target (*targaid*) was an important part of the equipment, and together with the helmet (*clogaid*, *ceann-bheirt*) formed the defensive armour.* The helmet was dropped towards the close of the 17th century, but the target lasted to the end. The former was of steel,—'helmets of steel to cover the hair and the nose;' the latter of wood covered with hide and studded with nails, whence the common epithet 'speckled' (*breac*): 'a knotty speckled shield,' 'a firm shield of hard knots.'†

Though fire-arms were in common use‡ the bow was long used for the chase; as an instrument of war it was discontinued in the 17th century, and is not mentioned in the disarming Act. There are a number of elaborate descriptions of it, one of the best being that by Mary MacLeod.§ The bow

* The gorget (*gorsaid*) is also mentioned, as in MacDonald's 'Bark of Clan-ranald; many curious pieces of armour are described as found in the Highland host in 1678 in a letter of that period; (*Blackwood*, April 1817, p. 68), . . . 'head pieces and steel bonnets raised like pyramids. . . . And truly I doubt not but a man curious in our antiquities might in this host find explications of the strange pieces of armour mentioned in our old lawes, such as basnet, iron hat, gorget, pesane, wambrassers, reerbrassers, panna, leg-splents, and the like, above what an occasion in the Lowlands would have afforded for several hundreds of years.'

† 'A target of timber, nails and hides;' Cleland.

‡ 'Since the invention of guns they are very early accustomed to use them and carry their pieces with them wherever they go.' Martin's *Western Isles*.

§ In *an talla 'mbu ghnath le MacLeod*, verses 8 to 11. Silis of Keppoch mentions the bow in an interesting connection, addressing the army of the Prince Charles, 'when you reach London you will be measuring the silk on the bridge with your elegant bows.'

itself (*bogha*, *pic**) was sometimes made of birch (*beith*) but generally of yew (*iubhar*), whence *iubhar* is constantly used as meaning the bow itself. It was often stained red; 'with your hard, ruddy, well-coloured bow,' and 'red English bows,' are mentioned in the *Caismeachd Ailein nan sop*. The bow-string (*taifeid*) was sometimes of silk, sometimes of hemp (*cainbe*, *corcach*; Flanders hemp is particularly specified). The arrows (*saighead*, *fiubhaidh*, *crann*) were winged with eagles' feathers (*ite an fhir-eoin*) fastened with wax or resin (*ceir*, *rosaid*) and carried in a quiver (*glac*, *balg*, *dorlach*) often made of badger skin. The shaft of the arrow is called *gainne*, the end next the bow-string *smeoirn*, and the barbed head *corran*: 'When it was let go from your hand there would not be an inch of it unburied between the barbs of the shaft and the end.'

Of fire-arms several kinds are mentioned. These are the simple gun (*gunna*), the musket (*musg*), rifle (*isneach*), carbine (*cairbinn*), and culverin (*cuilbheir*, generally called 'slender'), a name which continued in Gaelic to denote a hand gun, while elsewhere it became the name of a small cannon. The first and last of these are the common names, the *cuilbheir* being especially used for hunting. 'Climbers of the hills, with their ready culvers in their hands,' the MacDonalds of Glen-coe are called. 'Slender culvers that were bought full dear' are among the treasures of MacLeod, of whose followers the same song says 'there is found on each haunch of them rifle and carbine, and hard sound bows with hempen strings.' Belonging to the gun, and mentioned along with it in the songs, is the powder-horn (*adharc*) often richly ornamented with studs (*balla-bhreac*),† with its silken string and stopper of silver, and the measure for the powder (*miosair*). The guns when not in use were kept in a stand (*ealachan*) or hung on a

* The dictionaries only give *pic* as meaning a 'pike,' but the word occurs in contexts where it clearly means a bow, e.g., *piccan daite a' lub-adh*, bending dyed bows; *pic do'n iubhar*, a bow of yew; a *pic de 'n t-Sasannaich dheirg* (cf. above) is used in the chase.

† 'Powder-horns hung in strings, garnished with beaten nails and burnished brass.' Account of the Highland host.

peg (*steill*).* Besides the gun the pistol (*dag, piostal*) was also in common use; 'a pair of good pistols in a belt of wreathed studs' is the general possession of a chief. An inlaid pistol is described as 'small-speckled' (*meanbh-bhreac*).

As instruments of war, however, fire-arms were no favourites with the Highlanders, who regarded the use made of them by the Lowlanders as an unfair advantage, which did not allow them to display their dexterity in handling broadsword and shield.† In battle the gun was thrown down as soon as fired. Patrick Roy MacGregor expresses his disgust with the gun, trust in which had betrayed him into his enemies' hands.‡ 'My curse for ever on the gun as a weapon, after the deceit and shame I have suffered; though I should get for myself a fold full of cattle, rather would I have had a sword and shield at that time.'

The ordinary Highlander went on foot, the chief was distinguished by being mounted, hence his ordinary epithet, 'rider of steeds' (*marcach nan steud*), and its variations—'lively rider of saddles on the shod horse (*each cruidheach*) that shies not, that has no fear or terror when the fire is doubled'; 'cheerful rider of blue shod-horses' (*blue* is the favourite colour); 'when you would go to battle in the army of the king your saddle

* Knives appear to have been thrust into the wall. 'Better they should come yet, the MacLeans of the axes, and there would not be a knife in the wall nor sword in the sheath.' (Iain Lom).

† Compare the opinions on the assault of Dunkeld and the Battle of Culloden previously given. The Government troops were distinguished by the gun being their main weapon, and the soldiers defeated by Sir Ewen Cameron at Stron-nevis are called by Iain Lom 'men of the dark-blue reeds to which the powder was responsive when the hammers would strike the hard flints.' The songs have many names for the royal troops; a soldier is *fear casaig*, *fear ruadh* (a coated man, a red man), or they are called 'Saxons' (*Sasunnaich*), 'red-fellows' (*dearganaich*), men of the coats, of the red coats, of the madder coats (*luichd nan casag—chotacha dearga—chotacha madair*); sometimes from their language 'English speakers' (*luichd Beurla*); King William's troops are commonly called 'whelps' (*na cutleanan; siol nan cuilean*).

‡ According to tradition the waiting-maid at the inn where the MacGregors were drinking had emptied sowens into the barrels of their guns.

would be on a blue war-horse' (*mìl-each gorm*); 'not weak nor mild were you, riding up before the brigade on a high-spirited horse of four shoes': and the keeping of good steeds is the mark of a great chief: 'they were no harrow-like fillies that were fed in your stable, but horses with shoes and reins;' 'there would be slender horses leaping, and running races at speed, and men tightening the reins on their mouths.' The small size of the old Highland ponies probably prevented their general use for riding purposes.

Among the Western Isles a journey of any length, of course, involved a passage by sea, and such sea-voyages are often mentioned. An interesting description of a great expedition is given in the poem to the Earl of Argyle (*Triallfa mi*, etc.): 'When Earl Colin and his people set out he puts on the sea from the harbour a ready fleet. A broad, strong, heavy-laden flotilla, shapely and tight, of smoothest side to go to windward, oak-hard, and well-oared. Then the white-swaying masts, with their gearing, are hoisted up; many a rope is being made fast what time they sail, the stays are drawn tight and looped round the fore-breast, the great sails are raised in beauty, with fore-sails crossing. Their ears are fastened in the cat-head, as she goes to windward, like a swift steed with the stream pressing her and the sea beating her. Many a hero, bold, enduring, white-fisted, sturdy, that would make a bend in her oars, steady, hard-breathing.' The chief himself is described as a good steersman, and there are not a few spirited sea-songs which describe voyages between the islands.† One of them, by Murdoch Mór M'Kenzie of Achilty, begins by comparing the mare he chanced to be riding with the boat he was wont to sail in, which had the advantage of going without being spurred, and did not require to be fed: 'its sound when under sail was as a harp to me; that were my joy and desire though

† e.g., *Caisimeachd Ailein nan Sop: An iorram dharaich* (Iain Lom), Alexander MacDonald's *Iorram Cuain*, and *Birlinn Chlann-Raonuill*, the latter one of the most wonderful compositions in the language. The whole tackling of the ships is described in these. The popular tales have also some curious 'sea-runs.'

my head were grey, and not to have a rod and rein in my hand.' Even the larger boats were rowed as well as sailed, and the *iorram* was intended to be sung by the rowers.

The main occupation of the more untamed and uncivilised clans, besides war and the chase, was making raids (*creachadh*)* on their neighbours, which was considered an honourable trade for a chief, and often mentioned in the songs. 'There was plentiful warring and raiding in Lochaber at that time,' says the owl to Donald M'Inlay; 'when I would see the raids and the terror going past I would take a little turn from the road and stay a while in Craig-guanach'; but most of the references to it are of this brief kind.† The usual spoil was of course cattle. Of a dead chief, it is said that if sword or gun had slain him 'there would be lifting of cows‡ and driving off spoils in plenty, and many a son without father, and wife without husband.' In Gillies' collection (p. 132) there is a curious composition by the Rev. Alexander MacFarlane praying to be kept from the sin of stealing, beginning, 'In spite of man, or without his knowledge, shall I lift a prey or steal his gear,' and after pointing out that the end of such proceedings was usually the gallows (this must have been in degenerate days), he ends with what may be rendered—

'Keep my heart, O King and Father,
From love of gear that is not mine,
From stealing cattle in Thy presence
Do thou my soul and hand incline.'

Probably the reverend gentleman thought the prayer very necessary for his congregation.

The summons made by the chief to gather his men to battle was called *crois-tara*,§ which is mentioned in Iain Lom's *Iorram dharaich*. 'Many a sturdy youth with bent grasp

* The noun *creach* denotes both the plundering and the plunder.

† e.g. *Mac Aoidh nan creach—Bhuailte creach agus speach mhor leat—Creach 'g a togail le strith*, etc.

‡ *Togail air martaibh*; a part of the raiding march of the MacFarlanes is still preserved, '*Thogail nam bó*, etc.

§ The actual 'fiery-cross' seems nowhere described, though this is sometimes given as the meaning of *crois-tara*.

behind his shield will come with you, and answer to your cry without fear or weakness when they hear your battle-warning.' A bold use of it is made in a poem on the state of the country in 1716 (*Glenbard Collection*, p. 375):—'O God, leave us not in want, at the mercy of foes: raise thou thy *croistara* to bring our friends to land: we are in purgatory, graciously give us peace.'

The clan was marshalled under its banner (*bratach*) generally made of silk, which seems to have been considered an indispensable part of the muster, and is constantly referred to: 'of the banners' is a constant epithet of chiefs (e.g., *Mac Griogair nam bratach*), and the fluttering of the pennons combines with the scream of the pipes to stir up the martial spirit of the clans. The historic green banner of Clan Chattan is mentioned: 'the young laird of Cluny with the green silken banner;' and there are some spirited lines about banners in MacDonald's 'Praise of the Lion.' Closely connected with this are the badges and arms of the clans, which are often spoken of, as MacDonald, 'whose badge is the tufted bush of heather,'* 'dark blue heather in tufts.' The arms of the MacDonalds are not seldom described; 'Thy fair arms are the ship, lion, and salmon on the bright bottomed sea, the fig tree without blight that would give wine (!) in plenty, and the red hand of the hero not weak.' Several of the most spirited war-songs relate to the distinctive crests of the clans, such as the 'Stag's head' (*Cabar feidh*) of the Mackenzies, and the 'Dispraise of the stag's head' (*Dimoladh chabair feidh*) by Alexander MacDonald, together with his own 'Praise of the Lion' (*Moladh an leoghain*). The first of these, which was provoked by a raid of the Monroes upon Assynt, makes a very unfavourable comparison between the habits of the deer and the eagle, the latter the crest of the Monroes; 'There is not a bird in the heavens so dirty as the eagle: it has no habits in common with the deer that dwell

* 'Among the ensignes also, besides other singularities, the Glencoe men were very remarkable, who had for their ensigne a faire bush of heath, welspread and displayed on the head of a staff, such as might have affrighted a Roman eagle.' Description of the Highlanders in 1678 already referred to.

on the moors: they rise up early and search for the water-cresses, she sits upon some old lean horse tearing out its entrails.'

In earlier times the clans were incited to battle by the song of the bard, but in the 17th century the bagpipe comes into prominence, and the bard was not required in this capacity. Consequently the bards do not always display very friendly feeling towards the pipes, and speak of it in very uncomplimentary terms, much as an southerner might do at the present day. There is a 'Praise of the Pipe,' by Gilleasbuig of Keppoch, who call it 'the incitement of the host to brave heroism; the great pipe with which every courage is aroused:—my love is the harp, my best love the pipe (*mo ghaol clarsach, ro ghaol piob*). I will not dispraise the song, but it would be better in time of peace: the song would never go so boldly against the foe as the pipe.' Gilleasbuig's poem is endorsed by one of Iain Mac Ailein's, who blesses him for giving such honour to the pipe; 'I am certain,' he says, 'there is many an earl in Alban to-night, who when he sets a force on foot, for hearing the pipes early and late would give as reward money without stint.' This song is parodied verse for verse by Lachann Mac Mhic Iain, who gives the other view of the case. 'There's many an earl in Alban in his bed to-night, after filling his belly with sowens, rolling himself often about, if the clamorous jade came near him early or late the reward he would give to the man who played it would be to set the dogs on him. . . . Whatever fool first began to extract music from a skin, it is plain that there was plenty of dreaming and raving in his head.' He compares it to the cackle of geese, and suggests that it would be better to scare horses from the hay with than to stir up a host. As to its use in battle he recalls how the boy who carried Conduili's pipes ran off at Sheriffmuir, and hence he says it is a cowardly instrument. There is also the 'Genealogy of the pipe' (*seanachas sloinnidh na pioba*) by Niall MacMhuirich, who is even less complimentary, calling it 'the instrument that would waken the devils,' and likening it to the 'roaring of a lean cow in spring.'

Such views were of course by no means universally held.

'Sweet to me is the sound of thy pipes,' says Iain Lom to the chief of Glengarry, and Mary MacLeod when away from her native isle remembers the pipes of Mac Crimmon, 'By the side of the sea sad is my cheer; I was once that this was not my wont: but the great sounding pipe, that all music excels, when played by the fingers of Patrick.' The wild sounds of the pipe-music are recalled by the very Gaelic phrases of the bards,—*piob nuallanach mhór—piob mhór nan toirm-fheadan—piob sgallach nan dos Le ceol caithreamach, bras, luath, eibhinn*. Several of Duncan Ban's poems celebrate the praises of the pipes, being prize poems composed for the meetings of the Highland Society.

When not engaged in fighting or lifting cattle the chief led a life of ease, surrounded by his devoted adherents, who supported his dignity and shared his wealth. Not a few of the chiefs were certainly fairly well-educated, intelligent men, but these features were not those which specially appealed to the bard, though the chief's linguistic powers are sometimes referred to: 'among Gael and stranger where your speech was heard, you had Latin and French and English.' The bard however is more impressed with the state which the chief maintained in the family seat, some curious pictures of which are given by southern travellers of the 17th and 18th centuries. The hall of the chief is the centre of the clan, and the songs constantly refer to the 'white castles,' the 'precious halls,' 'the high turretted towers,' where he dwells, whether in 'Duart of the arches, the high tower where the bards make their gain,' or 'Bunawe, where the travellers come and find there the mirth of the harp.' 'There you raised the comely tower a little way from Loch Lochy. I saw Invergarry merry, joyous, melodious,' says Iain Lom to young Angus of Glengarry; and Mary MacLeod begins one of her laments: 'O God, how sorrowful I am without pleasure or mirth, in the hall where MacLeod used to dwell: a great house, blithe and merry with youths and with maidens, where the clanging of horns was loud. Great and precious thy hall, without watch or ward on it, where I saw them a-drinking the wine.' Of the internal arrangement of these little is said

beyond the weapons that adorned the walls, and the wealth of drinking vessels that strewed the tables. 'There would be candles burning in holders of brass, and thy chambers all lighted with wax,' the latter being a mark of wealth. Every hall is provided in abundance with gold and silver cups (*piosan*; *cupachan*) with drinking horns (*adharc*, *corn*) or bowls (*cuach*, *bola*), the possession of which is one of the stock-epithets of chiefs: 'race of soldiers and heroes, of pennons and plate and white cups': 'no niggardly dwelling, with the gleaming of cups, consuming of wine, and pouring it out into the work of the gold-smith.' Even pewter (*feodar*) is not unseen among the richer metals, and the drinks are various enough for every taste. The more lofty bards do not come below wine (*fiòn*), of which large quantities certainly were consumed, but others, especially Iain Lom, enumerate beer (*beoir*), brandy (*branndaidh*) and whisky (*uisge beatha*), which does not appear so often as one might expect. The chief is 'the man that buys the wine and is able to pay it,' 'the jovial host that can give drink to hundreds,' and judging from the large part which this kind of entertainment plays in the songs, there may be some truth in Macpherson's attribution of the praise of the bards to 'the strength of his cups.' Many a flowing verse records such scenes; 'about the board without sadness or gloom, with drinking and playing, and music sweeter than the cuckoo in May.' The chief was early initiated into this manner of pleasing the clan; 'many a glass did the young fellows of your country get from your hand before you grew up to be higher than my knee.' The results of this hospitality were not always of the best: one bard more honest than his fellows thus describes the retainers of Mac-Lean of Muck: 'there would be draining of cups with the greatest of mirth, and your lads would be joyfully sporting, with plenty of courage in their heads but little wisdom in their speech.' Even in the pathetic lament for the massacre of Glencoe the poet calls the murdered MacDonalds 'drainers of casks' (*luchd a thraghadh nam buideal*), qualifying it by saying that they were not 'beastly' in that respect (*bu neo-bhruideil mu 'n chupan ud sibh*).

Besides drinking, the chief amusements in the hall were playing games of chance or skill (*iomairt*), music, and tale-telling: 'there would be a while at chess, and the sound of the harp, as was fitting to the son of MacLeod: after that a while at the old tale of the Fiann and the white-buttocked antlered herds.' 'When the horizon was darkening harps would be playing, their music not left laid up in them but brought out by the fingers, until you wished to retire to rest. The gamesters would be playing chess in turn, and the chessmen rattling: the noise of cards: Spanish dollars and shillings being paid without grudge.' 'The fleet will come with the wind to the town of heroes, although the straits be white. To the hall of cups where the wine is noisy, where a thousand ships are welcomed. There will be lyre and harp and fair-bosomed women in the tower where chess is played. The sound of pipes and lipping organ; and cups filled to the brim. Wax-lights gleaming all night long, as they listen to the strife of bards.' Such are the pictures of life given by the bards of the 17th century. 'I saw thy board without playing or drinking,' are the words of one, whose chief was dead and his castle in ruins; and again 'the great house where the people gathered, now without drinking or mirth or joy, without feasts consuming on the board,—alas, O Father of storms: without war-song or the strife of strings, without poem recited to the harp, without poet to put on record the exploits of thy clan for ever: without brave men to go in rank, without chess, or horn, or cup, etc.' The delight of the Celt in music is well brought out by the frequency with which it is mentioned. The chief's abode was the paradise of the bard, where he paid for his entertainment by his encomiums, or avenged its neglect by biting satires. He expected everywhere to find patrons like 'MacKenzie of Kintail, that would give to the bards their reward,' and in return spread their fame wherever he went; 'The poets declared of you, as far as their wanderings went, that they never saw a more hospitable face.' How far the chief was always honestly glad to see the bards is a different matter; not a few of them were probably more dreaded than

respected, their satire being a thing to be avoided as far as possible, but naturally nothing of this comes into the songs.

'When you were tired of musicians, the Bible would be read with true belief of heart as the Son of God commanded, and the teaching of the clergy would be received in peace'; and 'the Scriptures were read in your hall before rising from table,' give another side of the picture, probably of rarer occurrence than the former ones, although it is recorded of one chief that he built a church 'and did not live to slate it.' Yet it is curious how little of the darker beliefs of the Celt come into these songs: instances from the Bible are not uncommon, but there is hardly a single reference to the popular traditions, beyond those relating to the Fiann, and that generally a comparison of the poet after some great loss to Ossian left behind his fellows. It is once suggested that witchcraft may have had to do with a man's death, but in general the bard keeps altogether clear of popular beliefs.

The chief was required to be generous in giving as well as hospitable in entertaining; he had to be famous 'in war and in peace, and in giving of money.' In order to procure this the chief was not unacquainted with the plan of imposing heavy rents on his tenants, and the bards consider themselves justified in praising one who did not take that course. 'You were liberal to your gentlemen and for as much money as you spent on them there was no want among your tenantry:' 'you are the son of the virtuous chief that did not oppress his people:' 'you were the friend of the peasantry, and were not hard on them for their mail; though their money was short you would not refuse them credit:' 'it was not the custom of others that you took for your habit, to oppress the tenants for the rents.' The state of affairs in the Highlands was thus very likely akin to that which the Brehon laws depict as existing in Ireland, where a 'rack-rent' was a legitimate imposition. It was however clearly for the interest of the chief to secure the good will of his clan by all possible means, and Celtic patience was considerably elastic when the demands on it were made by the head of the tribe.

In praising the chief the bard delights to speak of the clans

with which he is connected either by supposed community of blood or by friendly ties, and enumerates the various chiefs who would rise to help him in time of trouble. As a matter of fact this willingness to render assistance seems to have been more imaginary than real, as a clan was generally left to fight its own battles as best it could, except where there was expectation of danger in allowing a powerful clan to crush a smaller one. Any encroachment on the territory of a neighbour was regarded with great jealousy by all the surrounding clans, and the Campbells came in for a full share of this odium. Though indications of no friendly feeling between other clans are not wanting, as in *Cabar feidh* or MacDonald's reply to it, or the song on the fight at Mulroy, yet the full measure of clan hatred is reserved for the Argyle men, more especially as so many of the bards were MacDonalds. Iain Lom in particular had a most intense hatred of 'the beasts,' as they are usually called, and was delighted with every one who inflicted injury on them. He is in raptures with Alasdair mac Colla for the way he chased them at Inverlochy. 'If you had had all your warriors, those that escaped would have had to stay. . . . You chased the grey Lowlanders, and the kail they had supped you let it out of them. The claws of the Campbells were on the ground after their sinews were cut. Many a man with hat and periwig and straight slender gun was stretched out in Inverlochy, and the darlings of the Cantyre women were there. Many a naked unclothed body was losing blood from narrow wounds.—You have heard of Gortan Odhar: it is well manured this year for us, not with dung of sheep or goats, but with the frozen blood of Campbells. Perdition seize me if I pity your crying or the distress of your children, or the wailing of the Argyle women lamenting the men that stayed on the battle-field.' He was also greatly pleased with the defeat the Athole men inflicted on them.

When Donald Donn of Bohuntin composed the song in praise of the Campbell piper, he was attacked for it in another song by Gilleasbuig of Keppoch, for 'exalting the Campbells; we would much prefer them under our feet; if they would only fight a battle with us in return for our burnt homesteads,

the edges of our swords would make them take the use of their feet.' To the piper, after referring to the colour of his nose, his pock-marked face, and 'the wry seal's mouth of your clan,' he says, 'you belong to a clan of deceivers, cheats, and liars; the head was taken off your arch-traitor.' He wishes he could get State permission for the Campbells and MacDonalds to fight the grudge out man for man; and probably very little encouragement would have been required to bring about another North Inch of Perth.

To oppose the power of the Campbells was however no easy task, and it was great praise to tell a chief that he could hold his own with Mac Caillein, but to say that he could do so against Mac Caillein *plus* someone else was the height of laudation. 'You took Cnoidart and more from him,' says Iain Lom to Angus Og of Glengarry, 'and he did not win Mull till you died.' The desire to see a good hemp rope round Argyle's neck is not unusual; 'it is sad that I am not as I would wish, with the head of Mac Caillein under my arm, softly would I sleep then though the rock were my bed.' Sometimes the bard professes to despise the Campbell power: 'All the Highlands will be bold and bloody in the battle, and although the Campbells come not, we care little for that pack,' occurs in an address to Prince Charles.

MacDonald's reply to *Cabar feidh* contains some biting sarcasms on the MacKenzies. He reminds them of their behaviour at Auldearn, and how little they helped the cause of King Charles. 'The heavens wept, the stars vomited, crying to you not to hurry; you almost ran to Egypt, and if there had been a smooth road you would have gone there.' 'There wasn't a Lot's wife among them for they never looked back.' Much of this may have been only meant as a display of wit, but it was not calculated to foster friendly feelings with the clan so attacked.

Whatever faults and defects these songs may have as poetical compositions, however much in them may be conventional and rhetorical, there is no mistaking the genuine earnestness with which the loss of a chief or kinsman is mourned. 'It was not the strength of men that took you from

us; had it been that, the steel-helmeted warriors would have risen by your side—men like cold, rough tempests, that would take with them what they could find.' A common comparison is that of the clan after the death of its chief to a ship in a storm; 'helm, and sail, and yard, every tackling on the mast one hour has taken from us.' The Clan M'Lean are said to be 'like geese that have been plucked,' and Iain Lom seriously uses this image of himself after the death of Angus Og of Glengarry at Stron-a-chlachain, and goes on, 'I am like Ossian in the house of Patrick. Though I left my father there, I speak not of that, but of the wound the sword made in your loins.' In the lament for Hector Roy MacLean, who fell with 700 followers at Inverkeithing, the bard thinks only of his chief: 'Though it was hard for me to lose the friends that left me that day, it is not them I take account of but my strong surety and thy waste land, O thou that gavest me fortune with untarnished friendship.' 'I ask no more of the world: I would lie with the beetles of the clod in the narrow strait bed, stretched by the side of thy coffin,' says Gilleasbuig dubh of Sir James MacDonald of Sleat, whose son, Sir Donald, Iain Lom also laments: 'I have lost the chiefs of my support, my strong shield and pillar; they dwell in the grave with grass over them. . . It has choked my joy and pride that beetles are hollowing your side: my choice of jewels is gone 'neath the gravestone,' and the same sentiment recurs in every *cumha* and *marbhrann* from the earliest to the latest. The death of a chief was followed by the wailing of the women, who beat their hands and tore their hair with a Celtic abandonment of grief. 'I left not a hair of my head untorn, nor the white skin on my hands,' says one woman, and the *mnatha caointeach nan luath-bhos* were the constant mourners for a chief's death. A strange custom, which is several times spoken of, is that of drinking the blood of the loved dead: 'They placed his head on an oaken spike and they poured his blood on the ground: if I had had a cup there I had drunk my fill of it' (Lament of Gregor MacGregor's wife). 'I opened the door of your chamber, and it reached the thongs of my shoes, your heart's

blood pouring forth; I had all but drunk my fill of it,' (Lament for Alasdair and Ronald of Képpoch by their sister).

The funeral was conducted with great pomp and dignity. 'If you were brought home dead, the pipes would be sounding and banners waving above your fair corpse.' Many of the western chiefs were buried in Iona, and if any of them was not laid there beside his kin it was considered a cause for sorrow. 'Alas, I am vexed that they did not take you over to the Monks' burying-ground, where your friends are lying, beside your father and grandfather, where we might draw near to your cairn.'

Such is a brief outline of the Highland chief and the surroundings among which he passed his life, so long as the old Celtic customs continued to hold their own beside the new-world fashions that steadily pressed against them, and in this light he comes before us in the songs of the bards. The history of Gaelic civilisation in Scotland is in many respects obscure, both in its origin and development, but any attempt to depict its final phases cannot choose but to draw its most valuable materials from the works of men who lived in it and reflected its spirit most completely.

ART. IV.—THE NORSE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA.

The Finding of Wineland the Good: The History of the Icelandic Discovery of America. Edited and Translated from the Earliest Records. By ARTHUR MIDDLETON REEVES, with Phototype Plates of the Vellum MSS. of the Sagas. London: 1890.

SOMEHOW American historians are very difficult to persuade that the discovery of the northern part of their continent nearly five centuries before the date of Christopher Columbus by the Norsemen rests upon anything like historical data. The whole of the historical records of the event, which have been

preserved by the fellow-countrymen of the discoverers, they are disposed to set aside, and are unwilling to regard the story they present as little, if any, better than a piece of pure mythology. That their continent might, and may, have been discovered by those venturesome sea-farers, they admit, but the authenticity of the documents which testify that it was, they deny, and maintain that, with a single solitary exception, historical evidence of the fact is entirely wanting.

Many years ago Mr. Bancroft wrote: 'The story of the colonization of America by the Norsemen rests on narratives mythological in form, and obscure in meaning, ancient, yet not contemporary. The intrepid mariners who colonized Greenland could easily have extended their voyages to Labrador, and have explored the coasts to the south of it. No clear historic evidence establishes the natural probability that they accomplished the passage, and no vestige of their presence on our continent has been found.' Mr. Winsor, the latest historian of America, practically repeats this opinion. 'The extremely probable and almost necessary pre-Columban knowledge of the north-eastern parts of America follows,' he writes, 'from the venturesome spirit of the mariners of those seas for fish and traffic, and from the easy transitions from coast to coast by which they would have been lured to meet the more southerly climes. The chances from such natural causes are quite as strong an argument in favour of the early Northmen venturings as the somewhat questionable representations of the Sagas.' Elsewhere in this connection, he remarks: 'Everywhere else where the Northmen went, they left proofs of this occupation on the soil, but nowhere in America, except on an island on the east shore of Baffin's Bay, has any authentic runic inscription been found outside of Greenland,'* And speaking of the records themselves, he says: 'In regard to the credibility of the Sagas, the northern writers recognize the change which came over the oral traditionary chronicles when the romancing spirit was introduced from the more southern countries, at a time

* Vol. I. pp. 66, 67.

while the copies of the Sagas which we now have were making, after having been for so long a time orally handed down; but they are not so successful in making plain what influence this imported spirit had on particular Sagas, which we are asked to receive as historical records.' *

These passages not only bear out what has been said above; they show that their authors confuse colonization with discovery, and refuse to believe in the credibility of the Icelandic records, mainly, if not entirely, because of the absence in America of runic inscriptions and other archæological remains, which it is supposed the discoverers ought to have left behind them. But the rigid application of the test here suggested would, as Mr. Reeves remarks, render the discovery of Iceland itself problematical. Discovery, moreover, is not necessarily followed by colonization; nor is there any statement in the Icelandic records to the effect that the Northmen founded a permanent colony on the American Continent. These records do indeed tell how an attempt was made to found one, but they tell also how the attempt came to grief and was finally abandoned. The main facts to which they bear witness are that about the year 1000 North America was accidentally discovered by the Northmen, that several voyages were made to it, and that after a series of sad experiences, the thought of making a permanent settlement there was entirely given up.

It is to the question of the credibility of these records that the handsome volume which we have noted above, is mainly devoted. Mr. Reeves accepts them as beyond doubt authentic, and has brought together such an array of evidence in support of his opinion, that it will be well nigh impossible for any one who will take the trouble to go over them carefully, to differ from him or to regard the discovery of the North American continent by the Northmen as anything else than established on a firm historical basis. The work is one of admirable scholarship and great learning. Besides reproducing the texts of the three Sagas in which the story of the discovery is nar-

* Vol. I. p. 87.

rated and doing for them almost all that modern scholarship can, he has gathered together the various references to America and its discovery which are scattered up and down in the early literature of Iceland, noted their inconsistencies and agreement and made such discriminations in the material as the facts of the case seem to warrant. One thing he has not done. He has not, like Rafn, to whom we owe the original publication of the material, encumbered his pages with dubious theories or hazardous conjectures. Beyond such historical and other notes as are requisite for the understanding of the texts and the relations of the manuscripts to each other, he has left the records to speak for themselves.

In the following pages it is impossible to follow Mr. Reeves through all the minute details of his argument; all we shall attempt is a mere outline. On essential points we are of course at one with him, but on some points of detail we are not.

The oldest surviving manuscript in which any mention is made of America or of Wineland the Good, as the most southern part reached by the Icelandic discoverers is called, was written about the beginning of the fourteenth century. The discovery was made about the year 1000. Three centuries is a long time, and quite sufficient to allow of the growth of legend. But whatever legendary matter may have been incorporated into the Sagas, there is abundant evidence that the discovery and the principal facts connected with it were well known in Greenland and Iceland long before our present manuscripts were written. There is documentary evidence reaching as far back as about the year 1110.

Wineland the Good is first mentioned in Icelandic literature by Ari Thorgilsson, or Ari the Learned, as he is commonly called. He was born in Iceland in 1067, of a noble family sprung from the celebrated Queen Aud, and King Olaf the White, from whom he was eighth in descent, and died at the ripe age of eighty one. He was also called Ari the Historian, and sometimes, in order to distinguish him from another of the same name, Ari the Elder. Wineland the Good could scarcely have been mentioned in Icelandic literature earlier, for Ari is

the father of Icelandic historiography. Snorri, the author of *Heimskringla*, says of him: 'He was the first of men here in the land [*i.e.* Iceland] to write ancient and modern lore in the northern tongue; he wrote chiefly in the beginning of his book concerning Iceland's colonisation and legislation, then of the law-speakers, how long each was in office, down to the introduction of Christianity into Iceland [A.D. 1000], and then on to his own day. Therein he also treats of much other old lore, both of the lives of the kings of Norway and Denmark, as well as of those of England, as likewise of the important events which have befallen here in the land, and all of his narratives seem to me most trustworthy.' He then goes on to tell how Ari was reared and educated, and whence he obtained much of his information. When he was seven years old, he says, he came to Haukadale to Hal Thorarinson, and was there fourteen years. Hal Thorarinson, who died in 1089 at the advanced age of 92, is described as a man of great knowledge and excellent memory, who 'could even remember being baptized when he was three years old by the priest Thangbrand, the year Christianity was established in Iceland by law.' Ari's teacher was Teit, son of Isleif, the first bishop of Iceland, 'who gave him information about many circumstances which he afterwards wrote down.' 'Ari also,' Snorri continues, 'got many a piece of information from Thurid, a daughter of the Godi Snorri. She was wise and intelligent, and remembered her father Snorri, who was nearly thirty-five years of age when Christianity was introduced into Iceland, and died a year after King Olaf the Saint's fall.' * 'It is not strange, therefore,' he concludes, 'that Ari should have been well informed in the ancient lore, both here and abroad, since he had both acquired it from old and wise men, and was himself eager to learn and was gifted with a good memory.' Ari, therefore, though not born until 67 years after the discovery of Wineland the Good, was acquainted with those who were alive at the time the event happened, was on

* The priest Snorri was born 964 and died 1031.

familiar terms with them, and had every opportunity of ascertaining the truth about it.

The references to the country in the works ascribed to him, and of which he was either the sole or joint author, are four. All of them are of the briefest. He neither gives an account of its discovery nor describes the country. His references to it are merely incidental and illustrative of what he is saying. In the *Landnámabók*, which according to Dr. Vigfusson was written about the year 1110 and not later than 1120, he says, when treating of the adventure of Ari Marsson: 'Their * son was Ari. He was driven out of his course at sea to Whitemen's Land, which is called by some persons Ireland the Great; it lies westward in the sea near Wineland the Good; it is said to be six "doegra" sail west of Ireland; Ari could not depart thence, and was baptized there. The first account of this was given by Rafn, who sailed to Limerick, and remained for a long time at Limerick in Ireland. So Thorkel Geitisson stated that Icelanders report, who have heard Thorfinn, Earl of the Orkneys, say that Ari had been recognised there, and was not permitted to leave, but was treated with great respect there.† There is no difficulty in identifying Ari Marsson and his family, but Whitemen's Land is still an enigma, and particulars which might serve to throw light on the narrative or to aid in determining whence Rafn and Earl Thorfinn derived their intelligence, are lacking. Still the fact remains that here in Ari the Historian's earliest work, 'Wineland the Good,' is distinctly referred to. It is mentioned again in the same work in a list of the descendants of Snorri Head-Thordsson, where it is said that the son of Snorri Head-Thordsson and Thorhild Ptar-migan was 'Thord Horsehead, father of Karlsefni, who found Wineland the Good.' In the *Kristni Saga*, which is regarded as a sort of supplement to the *Landnámabók*, we have the following words: 'That summer King Olaf [Tryggvason] went from the country southward to Vindland [the land of the

* Mar of Reykholar and Thorkatla.

† Book 2, Chap. 22.

Wenda]; then, moreover, he sent Leif Ericsson to Greenland to proclaim the faith there. On this voyage Leif found Wineland the Good: he also found men on a wreck at sea, wherefore he was called Leif the Lucky.'

But, perhaps, the most important of Ari's references to Wineland the Good occurs in his *Libellus*, a work which he prepared as a sort of abridged and revised edition of his *Islendingabók*. The original work which he calls the *Liber*, was written about 1127, but is now lost. The *Libellus*, which is also known as the *Islendingabók*, was written in the days when Rafn was Lawman, 1135-9, and has survived. In the preface to it he says: 'I first composed an *Islendingabók* for our Bishops Thorlak and Ketil and showed it to them, as well as to Sæmund the Priest. And forasmuch as they were pleased [either] to have it thus, or augmented, I accordingly wrote this similar in character with the exception of the Genealogy and Lives of the Kings, and have added that of which I have since acquired closer knowledge and which is now more accurately set forth in this [the revision] than in that' [the original work]. Of this work the parchment MS. is lost, but at the end of one of the two oldest paper copies of it, known as 113 a fol. of the Arna-Magnæan Collection in the University Library, at Copenhagen, the scribe, John Erlendson, who is known to have made transcripts of many Sagas for Bishop Bryniolf and in all probability made this for him, has written: 'These "Schedæ" and narratives of the priest Ari the Learned, are copied from a vellum in his own hand, as men believe, at Villingaholt, by the priest John Erlendson, Anno Domini 1651, the next Monday after the third Sunday after Easter.' The other paper copy, known as 113 b fol., is in the same hand. Both were obtained in Iceland by Arni Magnusson when he visited it between 1702 and 1712, and in the MS. 113 b he has inserted the following memorandum:

'The various different readings noted here throughout in my hand are taken from another copy [113 a] written by the Rev. John Erlendson in 1651. This was formerly the property of the Rev. Torfi Jonsson of Bear, who inherited it from Bishop Bryniolf Sveinsson. I obtained it, however, from Thorlak, son of Bishop Thord; it formed originally a portion of a

large book, which I took apart, separating the treatises. This copy I have called "Codex B.," signifying either "Baiensis" or the second, from the order of the letters of the alphabet. Concerning "Codex B" it is my conjecture that the Rev. John copied it first from the vellum, that Bishop Bryniolf did not like the copy [on account of its inaccuracy] . . . wherefore the Rev. John made a new copy of the parchment manuscript, taking greater care to follow the original literally, whence it is probable that this Codex A was both the later and the better copy.'

The two codices were written it is believed in the same year. Each of them contains the reference to Wineland and the paragraphs in which it occurs are almost identical, the Icelandic name in A being spelt Winland and in B Vinland, a difference of not the slightest significance. The paragraph which in Ari's history is number six, is as follows: 'That country which is called Greenland, was discovered and colonised from Iceland. Eric the Red was the name of the man, an inhabitant of Broadfirth, who went out thither from there, and settled at that place which has since been called Ericsfirth. He gave a name to the country, and called it Greenland, and said that it must persuade men to go thither, if the land had a good name. They found there, both east and west in the country, the dwellings of men, and fragments of boats, and stone implements, such that it may be perceived from these, that that manner of people had been there who inhabited Wineland, and whom the Greenlanders call Skrellings. And this, when he set about the colonisation of the country, was fourteen or fifteen winters before the introduction of Christianity here in Iceland, according to that which a certain man who himself accompanied Eric the Red thither, informed Thorkel Gellisson.'

For the matter in hand this mention of Wineland is of the greatest importance. It occurs in two copies of a manuscript believed to be from Ari's own hand. It occurs too in his *Libellus* or revised version of the now lost *Islendingabók*, and contains his latest word. But its greatest value is not in what it says, but, as Mr. Reeves has pointed out, in what it leaves unsaid. 'For,' to use the words of Mr. Reeves, 'had Ari not known that his reference to Wineland and its inhabitants would be entirely intelligible to his readers, he would hardly

have employed it, as he does, to inform his *Greenland Chronicle*. The passing notice, therefore, indicates a general diffusion of the knowledge of the *Wineland* discoveries among Ari's contemporaries at the time when the paragraph was composed' (p. 10). Next to taking part in the discoveries and being contemporary with them, Ari, in fact, occupied the best position possible for ascertaining the truth about them, and is one of the best witnesses we can have. His character for truthfulness, wisdom, and good memory is admitted on all hands. Most of his time was spent in perfecting his knowledge. He was acquainted with those who were living at the time the discoveries were made. He believed in the discoveries himself, and he believed that his countrymen believed in them, and the way in which he speaks of them is explicable only on the ground of their being matters of public notoriety. That they rest on historical data, and that the documents in which they are recorded are credible and authentic are facts which seem to us to be beyond question, and which only a perverse scepticism can refuse to accept.

Ari's writings, however, are not the only pieces of Icelandic literature, outside the *Sagas* narrating the discovery, in which mention is made of *Wineland*. It is mentioned in a very beautiful manuscript, known as the *Friis Book*, and also as the *Book of Kings*. According to Dr. Gustav Storm it was written about the year 1300, but according to Dr. Vigfusson as early as 1260-80. If either date be correct, it is considerably older than *Hauk's Book*, the earliest manuscript mentioning *Wineland*, of whose date there is any certain knowledge. Its words (col. 136, p. 34, b) are:—

'*Wineland the Good found. Leif, a son of Eric the Red, passed this same winter in good repute with King Olaf and accepted Christianity. And that summer [the summer of the year 1000] when Gizur went to Iceland, King Olaf sent Leif to Greenland to proclaim Christianity there. He sailed that summer to Greenland. He found in the sea men upon a wreck and helped them. Then found he also Wineland the Good, and arrived in the autumn at Greenland. He took with him a priest and other spiritual teachers, and went to make his home at Brattahild with Eric his father. People afterwards called him Leif the Lucky. But Eric his father said that one account should balance the other, that Leif had rescued the*

ship's crew at sea, and this that he had brought the trickster to Greenland. This was the priest.'

Almost identical with this is the history of the discovery in the so-called longer Saga of Olaf Tryggvason, occurring in a manuscript dating from about the year 1400. The passage is as follows:—

'King Olaf then * sent Leif Ericsson to Greenland to proclaim Christianity there. The king sent a priest and other laymen with him to baptize the people there, and to instruct them in the true faith. Leif sailed that summer to Greenland. He rescued a ship's crew at sea who were in great peril and were clinging to the shattered wreckage of the ship, and on this same voyage he found Wineland the Good, and at the end of the summer arrived in Greenland and went to make his home at Brattahild with Eric his father. People afterwards called him Leif the Lucky. But his father Eric said that the one [deed] offset the other, in that Leif had, on the one hand, rescued and given life to the men of the ship's crew, and on the other, had brought the trickster to Greenland, for thus he called the priest.'

In the *Collectanea of Middle-age Wisdom*, known as No. 194, 8vo, of the Arna-Magnæan Library, a manuscript written partly in Icelandic and partly in Latin between the years 1400-1450, occurs the following:—

'Southward from Greenland is Helluland, then is Markland; thence it is not far to Wineland the Good, which some men believe extends from Africa, and, if this be so, then there is an open sea flowing in between Wineland and Markland. It is said that Thorfinn Karlsefni hewed a house-neat-timber, and then went to seek Wineland the Good, and came to where they believed this land to be, but they did not succeed in exploring it, or in obtaining any of its products. Leif the Lucky first found Wineland, and he then found merchants at sea in evil plight, and restored them to life by God's mercy; and he introduced Christianity into Greenland, which waxed there, so that an Episcopal seat was established there, at the place called Gardar. England and Scotland are one island, although each of them is a kingdom. Ireland is a great island. Iceland is also a great island [to the north of] Ireland. These countries are all in that part of the world which is called Europe.'

The same position is assigned to Wineland in vellum fragment, AM., No. 736, 4to. 'From Greenland to the southward,'

* The summer of the year 1000, when, according to the same paragraph, he sent Gizur and Hjalti to Iceland on a similar mission.

it is said, 'lies Helluland, then Markland; thence it is not far to Wineland, which some men believe extends from Africa.' So again in another vellum fragment, containing a 'brief description of the whole world,' and probably written about the year 1400, it is said: 'From Biarmaland uninhabited regions extend from the north, until Greenland joins them. South from Greenland lies Helluland, then Markland. Thence it is not far to Wineland. Iceland is a great island,' etc. The *Eyrbyggja Saga*, the oldest manuscript, remains of which date back to about the year 1300, while the most complete extant vellum of it was probably written some fifty years later, has the following:—

'After the reconciliation between Steinthor and the people of Alpta-firth, Thorbrand's sons, Snorri and Thorleif Kimbi, went to Greenland. From him [Thorleif Kimbi] Kimbafirth [in Greenland] gets its name. Thorleif Kimbi lived in Greenland to old age. But Snorri went to Wineland the Good with Karlsefni; and when they were fighting with the Skrellings there in Wineland, Thorbrand Snorrason, a most valiant man, was killed.'

Mention is also made of Wineland in the Icelandic Annals. These are lists of notable events which happened in and out of Iceland. The oldest of them is supposed to have been written in the south of Iceland about the year 1280, though the oldest annalist known is a priest named Einar Hafidason, who was born in 1307 and died in 1393. His work is contained in the parchment manuscript, AM. 420 b, 4to, which has received the name, *Lawman's Annals*. Under the year 1121 it has the entry, 'Bishop Eric Uppsi sought Wineland.' A similar entry is found under the same year in the Annals written by the priest Magnus Thorhallsson, and appended to the *Flatey Book* in the so-called *Annales Reseniani*, in those known as the *Annales Regii*, in the Annals of Henrik Höyer, and in the *Gottskalk Annals*. For what purpose the Bishop undertook the voyage, what was its result, or whether he ever returned, is unknown. Mr. Reeves puts all that can be fairly inferred from the brief notices of the Annals and the information which may be gleaned elsewhere when he says:

'It seems altogether probable that he was the "Greenlanders' Bishop Eric Gnuþ's son" mentioned in a genealogical list in *Landnáma*, and

it is clear that if this be the same Eric, he was by birth an Iclander. This view is in a slight measure confirmed by an entry in the *Lawman's Annals* under the year 1112 [in the *Annals of the Flatey Book* under the year 1113] wherein the journey of Bishop Eric is recorded, a "journey" presumably undertaken away from Iceland, and probably to Greenland. In the ancient Icelandic scientific work called *Rimbegla*, in a list of those men who had been bishops at Gardar, the Episcopal seat in Greenland, Eric heads the list, while in a similar list of Greenland bishops in the *Flatey Book*, Eric's name is mentioned third. No record of Bishop Eric's ordination has been preserved, and none of his fate, unless indeed it be written in the brief memorial of his *Wineland voyage*. 'It has been conjectured,' he continues, 'that this voyage to Wineland was undertaken as a missionary enterprise, a speculation which seems to have been suggested solely by the ecclesiastical office of the chief participant. It has been further conjectured, since we read in the *Annals* of the ordination of a new bishop for Greenland in 1124, that Eric must have perished in the undertaking. The date of his death is nowhere given, and it is possible that the entry in the *Annals* under the year 1121 is a species of necrological record. It is, in any event, the last surviving mention of Wineland the Good in the elder Icelandic literature,' (p. 84).

In the *Elder Skábolt Annals*, however, in which there is a lacuna covering the year 1121, and which is believed to have been written about the year 1362, against the year 1347, there is the following entry: 'There came also a ship from Greenland, less in size than small Icelandic trading vessels. It came into the outer Stream-firth. It was without an anchor. There were seventeen men on board, and they had sailed to Markland, but had afterwards been driven hither by storms at sea.' The incident is also recorded in the *Annals of Gottskalk* and in those of the *Flatey Book* under the same year. But while the former simply says: 'A ship from Greenland came into the mouth of the Stream-firth,' the latter have the more particular record: 'A ship came there from Greenland which had sailed to Markland, and there were eighteen men on board.' Markland, it will be remembered, is said to lie north of Wineland the Good, and to be not far from it. Referring to these entries in the Icelandic *Annals* Mr. Reeves remarks:

'This scanty record is the last historical mention of a voyage undertaken by Leif's fellow-countrymen to a part of the land which he had discovered three hundred years before. The nature of the information indicates that the knowledge of the discovery had not altogether faded from the memories

of the Icelanders settled in Greenland. It seems further to lend a measure of plausibility to a theory that people from the Greenland colony may, from time to time, have visited the coast to the south-west of their home for supplies of wood, or for some kindred purpose. The visitors in this case had evidently intended to return directly from Markland to Greenland, and had they not been driven out of their course to Iceland the probability is that this voyage would never have found mention in Icelandic chronicles, and all knowledge of it must have vanished as completely as did the colony to which the Markland visitors belonged,' (p. 83).

So far we have dealt with what may be called purely historical references to the Norse discovery of America. These go back to about the year 1110. The earliest of them were written by one who has given abundant evidence of his truthfulness, and who, moreover, was acquainted with the contemporaries of the discoverers. His references to the discovery also are such as to show that among his countrymen the knowledge of it was widely diffused. And the facts which have hitherto come out are that the Continent was accidentally discovered by Leif Ericsson about the year 1000 while voyaging from Norway to Greenland, that it was known at three points, viz., Helluland, Markland, and Wineland the Good, and that the people inhabiting the last, the most southern point reached, were similar to those of whom Leif's father, Eric the Red, found traces in Greenland when he first discovered it.

The Sagas which narrate the voyage of the discoverers, and their attempts at colonisation, carry us further. They differ among themselves in several particulars, but on the main facts they agree. In all essential particulars they are in perfect agreement with the facts already adduced; and the fuller information they contain is, to use the words of Mr. Reeves, 'of such a character that it is natural to suppose that it was derived from the statements of those who had themselves visited the lands described; it is not conceivable from what other source it could have been obtained, and, except its author was gifted with unparalleled prescience, it could not have been a fabrication' (p. 4).

The sagas referred to are in all three. They divide themselves into two classes. In the first are the sagas of Eric the

Red and of Thorfinn Karlsefni and Snorri Thorbrandsson; in the other is the saga of Eric the Red contained in the Flatey Book. The two first are substantially the same and may be regarded as different versions of one and the same saga. That of the Flatey Book is different. The heroine of the other two, and the fortunes of her family, are unknown to it, a totally false account is given of her when she is introduced in quite a subordinate position, and her place is taken by a heroine of a different type. Other points of difference occur, as will be seen further on. The two sagas mentioned first are said by Dr. Vigfusson to have originated in the west of Iceland, and that of the Flatey Book in the north.* The Western saga of Eric the Red is found in the vellum codex known as Number 557, 4to, of the Arna-Magnæan Collection. The vellum itself is not older than the beginning of the fifteenth century. But that the saga itself is older there can be no doubt. The other version of it is found in Hauk's Book with the title 'the Saga of Thorfinn Karlsefni and Snorri Thorbrandsson.' The title, however, is not contemporary with the manuscript, but was inserted in the place left vacant for the title by Arni Magnusson. The manuscript is named after its first owner, Hauk Erlendson, for whom it was doubtless written, and who himself took part in the labour of its preparation. He is first mentioned in the year 1294 in connection with his appointment as lawman, and died in the year 1334. From data given in the genealogy appended to the saga, and in which Hauk traces his own ancestry to Karlsefni's Wineland-born son, Mr. Reeves has shown that the manuscript could not have been written earlier than 1299. It could not have been written later than 1334, as Hauk died in that year. Probably it was written about the year 1330. At any rate it is considerably older than AM. 557, 4to, in which the saga of Eric the Red occurs. Speaking of the relations of the two Mr. Reeves observes:

'That both Sagas were copied from the same volume is by no means certain; if both manuscripts be judged strictly by their contents it becomes

* Prolegomena, p. 50.

at once apparent this could not have been the fact, and such a conjecture is only tenable upon the theory that the scribes of Hauk's Book edited the Saga which they copied. This, while it is very doubtful in the case of the body of the text of the Hauk's Book Saga of Thorfinn may not even be conjectured of the Saga of Eric the Red. The latter saga was undoubtedly a literal copy from the original, for there are certain minor confusions of the text, which indicate, unmistakably, either the heedlessness of the copyist, or that the scribe was working from a somewhat illegible original whose defects he was not at pains to supply. If both sagas were copied from different early vellums, the simpler language of the Saga of Eric the Red would seem to indicate that it was a transcript of a somewhat earlier form of the saga than that from which the Saga of Hauk's Book was derived. This, however, is entirely conjectural, for the codex containing the Saga of Eric the Red was not written for many years after Hauk's Book, and probably not until the following century. So much the orthography and hand of 557, 4to, indicate, and, from the application of this test, the codex has been determined to date from the fifteenth century, and has been ascribed by very eminent authority to *ca.* 1400' (p. 24).

It does not follow, however, that the text of A.M. 557 is not older than that of Hauk's Book. The probability is that it is. Anyhow it is to be preferred, 'because,' as Dr. Vigfusson points out, 'it has preserved a certain charm of style and beauty of diction which, though the difference sometimes consists merely in the arrangement of words, is not found in the somewhat wooden stiffness of the sister text.'* The same learned authority, when referring elsewhere to these texts, remarks: 'This Saga presents the unique phenomena of two entirely different versions, which though corresponding on the whole, are both separately derived from oral tradition.'† And in the same place he subsequently observes: 'The correspondence of these distinct versions throws great light on the vitality and faithfulness of tradition, and is a strong confirmation of the credibility in main points of a Saga which is especially important for historic reasons.' When the Saga was first written down is not known. This much, however, is clear, it must have been committed to writing considerably before the transcripts in Hauk's Book were made, that is earlier than the end of the thirteenth century.

* *Icelandic Reader*, p. 377.

† *Prolegomena*, p. lix.

The Flatey Book in which the remaining text of the Saga is found, is a huge encyclopædia of Northern history. 'It is the biggest of Icelandic MSS.,' Dr. Vigfusson writes, 'and comparable to such giants as the Vernon MS.; the printed version takes no less than 1,700 packed pages of 39 lines. It was written in the fourteenth century at Wide-dals-tunga, not far from Thingore, which had no doubt a goodly library capable of affording materials to its scribes.*' John Haconsson, for whom it was written by John Thordsson and Magnus Thorhallsson, was born in 1350 and is last mentioned in 1398. The manuscript is notable among other things as the only Icelandic manuscript which possesses a title page. In this is given its early history and contents. Singularly enough its narrative of the discovery of America is split up into two parts, separated from each other by over fifty columns of extraneous historical matter. The first is called 'A Short Story of Eric the Red,' and the second 'A Short Story of the Greenlanders.' The original manuscripts of these narratives have, like all the other originals from which the transcripts in the Flatey Book were made, entirely disappeared.†

The pages of these manuscripts in which the story of the discovery of America is related, have all been beautifully photographed by Mr. Reeves, and on the opposite pages of his volume he has printed them out in full, and normalised their spelling. For some reason, however, probably because the manuscript is the older, he has placed the text of Hauk's Book, *Karlsefni Saga*, first, and that of AM. 557, second. In our opinion their position should be reversed. In the same way he has preferred the text of Hauk's Book for his translation, and has given the different readings of the sister text at the foot of the pages. As the simpler, better, and probably older text, it seems to us that AM. 557 should have been preferred. In many places, indeed, Mr. Reeves has substituted its readings for those of Hauk's Book.

In attempting to give an account of the contents of the Sagas, we shall avail ourselves of Mr. Reeves' excellent trans-

* *Icelandic Sagas*, Vol. I., p. xxv.

† *Loc. cit.*

lation. Here and there we may substitute the readings of AM. 557. For the present we shall leave the account given in the Flatey Book, which has been followed by Mr. Du Chaillu,* aside, and return to it later on. As already said, the texts of the two Sagas of Eric the Red and Thorfinn Karlsefni are substantially the same. They contain much other matter than that relating to Wineland the Good. Parts of it, as for instance the story of Gudrid, the heroine, the admirable picture of the old Sibyl, and many other passages, are of the greatest interest. But over these we must pass, referring the reader to Mr. Reeves' volume. Our object is to bring out the additional information the Sagas contain respecting the discovery of America.

As in the historical fragments, the discovery is attributed to Leif, the son of Eric the Red, the discoverer of Greenland. The narrative is as follows:—

'Leif had sailed to Norway, where he was at the Court of King Olaf Tryggvason. When Leif sailed from Greenland, in the summer† they were driven out of their course to the Hebrides. It was late before they got fair winds thence, and they remained there far into the summer. . . . Leif and his companions sailed away from the Hebrides, and arrived in Norway in the autumn. Leif went to the Court of King Olaf Tryggvason. He was well received by the King, who felt that he could see that Leif was a man of great accomplishments. Upon one occasion the king came to speech with Leif, and asks him, 'Is it thy purpose to sail to Greenland in the summer?' 'It is my purpose,' said Leif, 'if it be your will.' 'I believe it will be well,' answers the king, 'and thither thou shalt go upon my errand, to proclaim Christianity there.' Leif replied that the king should decide, but gave it as his belief, that it would be difficult to carry this mission to a successful issue in Greenland. The king replied that he knew of no man who would be better fitted for this undertaking, 'and in thy hands the cause will surely prosper.' 'This can only be,' said Leif, 'if I enjoy the favour of your protection.' Leif put to sea when his ship was ready for the voyage. For a long time he was tossed about on the ocean, and came upon lands of which he had previously no knowledge. There were self-sown wheat fields and vines growing there. There were also those trees which are called 'mansur,'‡ and of all these they took specimens; some of the timbers were so large that they were used

* *The Viking Age*, Vol. II. p. 519.

† The summer of the year 999.

‡ A kind of wood unknown, but supposed to be maple.

in building. Leif found men upon a wreck, and took them home with him, and procured quarters for them all through the winter. In this wise he shewed his nobleness and goodness, since he introduced Christianity into the country and saved the men from the wreck, and he was called Leif the Lucky ever after (pp. 35-36).

The news of Leif's discovery soon spread. Men began to talk about it, and an expedition was fitted out to explore the country.

'The leader of this expedition was Thorstein Ericsson,* who was a good man and an intelligent, and blessed with many friends. Eric was likewise invited to join them, for the men believed that his luck and foresight would be of great furtherance. He was slow in deciding, but did not say nay, when his friends besought him to go. They thereupon equipped that ship in which Thorbiorn had come out, and twenty men were selected for the expedition. They took little cargo with them and mostly weapons and provisions. On that morning when Eric set out from his home he took with him a little chest containing gold and silver; he hid his treasure and then went his way. He had proceeded but a short distance, however, when he fell from his horse and broke his ribs and dislocated his shoulder, whereat he cried, Ai, ai! By reason of this accident he sent his wife word that she should procure the treasure which he had concealed, for to the hiding of his treasure he attributed his misfortune. Therefore they sailed cheerily out of Eric'sfirth in high spirits over their plan. They were long tossed about upon the ocean, and could not lay the course they wished. They came in sight of Iceland, and likewise saw birds from the Irish coast. Their ship was, in sooth, driven hither and thither over the sea. In the autumn they turned back, worn out by toil, and exposure to the elements, and exhausted by their labours, and arrived at Eric'sfirth at the very beginning of winter (p. 37).'

Next the Saga tells of the marriage of Thorstein to Gudrid, and after a description of the coming of Karlsefni and Snorri, and of Karlsefni's marriage to Gudrid after the death of Thorstein, we have the following account of Karlsefni's adventurous voyage.

At this time† there now began to be much talk at Bratahild,‡ to the effect that Wineland the Good should be explored, for, it was said, that country must be possessed of many good qualities. And so it came to pass that Karlsefni and Snorri fitted out their ships, for the purpose of going in

* Leif's brother.

† Probably A.D. 1002.

‡ Eric's home in Greenland.

search of that country in the spring.* Biarni and Thorhall joined the expedition with their ship, and the men who had borne them company. There was a man named Thorvard; he was wedded to Freydis,† a natural daughter of Eric the Red. He also accompanied them, together with Thorvald, Eric's son, and Thorhall, who was called the Huntsman. He had been for a long time with Eric as his hunter and fisherman during the summer, and as his steward during the winter. Thorhall was stout and swarthy, and of giant stature; he was a man of few words, though given to abusive language when he did speak, and he ever incited Eric to evil. He was a poor Christian; he had a wide knowledge of the unsettled regions. He was on the same ship with Thorvard and Thorvald. They had that ship which Thorbiorn had brought out. They had in all one hundred and sixty men, when they sailed to the Western settlement and thence to Bear Island. Thence they bore away to the southward two "dœgr."‡ Then they saw land, and launched a boat, and explored the land, and found there large flat stones [*hellur*], and many of these were twelve ells wide; there were many Arctic foxes there. They gave a name to the country, and called it Helluland [Flatstoneland]. Then they sailed with northerly winds two "dœgr," and land then lay before them, and upon it was a great wood and many wild beasts; an island lay off the land to the south-east, and there they found a bear, and they called this Biarny [Bear Island], while the land where the wood was they called Markland [Forestland]. Thence they sailed southward along the land for a long time, and came to a cape; the land lay upon the starboard; there were long strands and sandy banks there. They rowed to the land and found upon the cape there the keel of a ship and they called it there Kialarnes [Keelness]; they also called the strands Furdustrandir [Wonder-strands], because they were so long to sail by. Then the country became indented with bays, and they steered their ships into a bay. It was when Leif was with King Olaf Tryggvason, and he bade him proclaim Christianity to Greenland, that the King gave him two Gaels; § the man's name was Haki, and the woman's Hækia. The King advised Leif to have recourse to these people, if he should stand in need of fleetness, for they were swifter than deer. Eric and Leif had tendered Karlæfni the services of this couple. Now when they had sailed past Wonder-strands, they put the Gaels ashore, and directed them to run to the southward, and investigate the nature of the country, and return again before the end of the third half day. They were

* Probably of the year 1003.

† As will be seen further on she accompanied the expedition.

‡ One dœgr is twelve hours.

§ Literally, Scottish (Skotzka), but used indifferently of Lowlanders and Highlanders, also of the Irish. The names as well as description of the dress of the two spoken of in the text would seem to indicate that they were Celts, and that their dress was strange to the Icelanders.

each clad in a garment, which they called 'Kiafal,' which was so fashioned that it had a hood at the top, was open at the sides, was sleeveless, and was fastened between the legs with buttons and loops, while elsewhere they were naked. Karlsefni and his companions cast anchor, and lay there during their absence; and when they came again, one of them carried a bunch of grapes,* and the other an ear of new-sown wheat. They went on board the ship, whereupon Karlsefni and his followers held on their way, until they came to where the coast was indented with bays. They stood into a bay with their ships. There was an island out at the mouth of the bay, about which there were strong currents, wherefore they called it Straumey [Stream Isle]. There were so many birds there, that it was scarcely possible to step between the eggs. They sailed through the firth, and called it Straumfjord [Streamfirth], and carried their cargoes ashore from the ships, and established themselves there. They had brought with them all kinds of live-stock. It was a fine country there. There were mountains thereabouts. They occupied themselves exclusively with the exploration of the country. They remained there during the winter, and they had taken no thought for this during the summer. The fishing began to fail, and they began to fall short of food. Then Thorhall the Huntsman disappeared. They had already prayed to God for food, but it did not come as promptly as their necessities seemed to demand. They searched for Thorhall for three half days, and found him on a projecting crag. He was lying there, and looking up at the sky with mouth and nostrils agape, and mumbling something. They asked him why he had gone thither; he replied, that this did not concern anyone. They asked him then to go home with them, and he did so. Soon after this a whale appeared there, and they captured it, and flensed it, and no one could tell what manner of whale it was; and when the cooks had prepared it, they ate of it, and were all made ill by it. Then Thorhall, approaching them, says: "Did not the Red Beard [*i.e.* Thor] prove more helpful than your Christ? This is my reward for the verses which I composed to Thor, the Trustworthy; seldom has he failed me." When the people heard this, they cast the whale down into the sea, and made their appeals to God. The weather then improved, and they could now row out to fish, and thenceforward they had no lack of provisions, for they could hunt game on the land, gather eggs on the island, and catch fish from the sea.'

During the winter the adventurers became divided in counsel. Thorhall wished to sail northward beyond Wonder-strands. Karlsefni, on the other hand, desired to sail south. When the season arrived, Thorhall and nine men sailed away to the

* A.M. 557 reads *vín-ker*, a wine-vessel, evidently a clerical error for *vín-ber*, grapes. 'This incident shows at least,' Dr. Vigfusson remarks, 'that they reached south of the St. Lawrence.'

north beyond Wonder-Strands and Keelness, and encountering easterly gales, were driven ashore in Ireland where they were thrown into slavery, and Thorhall lost his life 'according to that which traders have related.' Karlsefni cruised southward off the coast with Snorri and Biarni and their people. At last they came to 'a river which flowed from the land into a lake, and so into the sea.' The mouth of the river was impeded by 'great bars,' and could be entered only at the height of the flood-tide.

'Karlsefni and his men sailed into the mouth of the river and called it there Hóp. They found self-sown wheat fields on the land there, wherever there were hollows, and wherever there was hilly ground, there were vines. Every brook there was full of fish. They dug pits, on the shore where the tide rose highest, and when the tide fell, there were halibut in the pits. There were great numbers of wild animals of all kinds in the woods. They remained there half a month and enjoyed themselves, and kept no watch. They had their live-stock with them. Now one morning early, when they looked about them, they saw a great number of skin-canoes, and staves were brandished from the boats, with a noise like flails, and they were revolved in the same direction in which the sun moves. Then said Karlsefni: 'What may this betoken?' Snorri, Thorbrand's son, answers him: 'It may be, that this is a signal of peace, wherefore let us take a white shield and display it.'* And thus they did.'

The strangers then rowed toward them and went upon the land. They were 'swarthy men, and ill-looking, and the hair of their heads was ugly. They had great eyes and were broad cheeked.'† After tarrying awhile, marvelling at all they saw, they rowed away southward round the point. Karlsefni and his men remained in this place during the winter. 'No snow came there,' it is said, 'and all their live-stock lived by grazing.' Next spring they were again visited by the natives. Early one morning a great number of skin-canoes were discovered rowing from the south past the cape, and 'so numerous were they, that it looked as if coals had been

* The signal of peace.

† They are usually supposed to have been Eskimo, but Professor Storm would, on philological and ethnographical grounds, identify them with the Beothuk or Micmac Indians.

scattered broadcast out upon the bay,' and on every canoe staves were waved.

'Therefore Karlsefni and his people displayed their shields, and when they came together, they began to barter with each other. Especially did the strangers wish to buy red cloth, for which they offered in exchange peltries and grey skins. They also desired to buy swords and spears, but Karlsefni and Snorri forbade this. In exchange for perfect unsullied skins, the Skrellings would take red stuff a span in length, which they would bind around their heads. So their trade went on for a time, until Karlsefni, and his people began to grow short of cloth, when they divided it into such narrow pieces, that it was not more than a finger's breadth wide, but the Skrellings still continued to give just as much for this as before, or more.'

This peaceful intercourse was suddenly put a stop to. A bull belonging to Karlsefni and his people ran out of the woods where it was grazing, and began to bellow loudly. The Skrellings at once ran to their canoes in terror and rowed away. For three weeks nothing more was seen of them. Then an immense number of canoes were seen approaching from the south, containing a great multitude of the natives, uttering loud cries and waving their staves in a direction opposite to the course of the sun.

'Thereupon Karlsefni and his men took red shields* and displayed them. The Skrellings sprang from their boats, and they met them and fought together. There was a fierce shower of missiles, for the Skrellings had war-slings. Karlsefni and Snorri observed that the Skrellings put up on a pole a great ball-shaped body, almost the size of a sheep's belly, and nearly black in colour, and this they hurled from the pole up on the land above Karlsefni's followers, and it made a frightful noise where it fell. Whereat a great fear seized upon Karlsefni and all his men, so that they could think of nought but flight, and of making their escape up along the river bank, for it seemed to them that the troop of Skrellings was rushing towards them from every side, and they did not pause until they came to certain jutting crags, where they offered a stout resistance. Freydis came out, and seeing that Karlsefni and his men were fleeing, she cried: "Why do ye flee from these wretches, such worthy men as ye, when, meseems, ye might slaughter them like cattle. Had I but a weapon, methinks I would fight better than any one of you!" They gave no heed to her words. Freydis sought to join them, but lagged behind, for she was not hale; she

* The signal among the Norsemen for war.

followed them, however, into the forest, while the Skrellings pursued her. She found a dead man in front of her ; this was Thorbrand, Snorri's son, his skull cleft by a flat stone, his naked sword lay beside him ; she took it up and prepared to defend herself with it. The Skrellings then approached her, whereupon she stripped down her shift and slapped her breast with the naked sword. At this the Skrellings were terrified, and ran down to their boats and rowed away.'

In this encounter Karlsefni and his party lost two men. How many of the natives were slain is not known. According to one recension a 'great number' fell, but according to the other only four.

After this Karlsefni and his friends thought it no longer safe to remain where they were. They prepared, therefore, to leave and to return to their own country. Steering northward they found 'five Skrellings, clad in skin-doublets, lying asleep near the sea,' with vessels beside them 'containing animal marrow mixed with blood.' The Northmen concluded that the Skrellings must have been banished from their own land, and put them to death. Then, continuing their course, they 'found a cape, upon which there was a great number of animals, and the cape looked as if it were one cake of dung, by reason of the animals which lay there at night.' Shortly after they arrived at Stream-firth 'where they found great abundance of all those things of which they stood in need.' The next move seems to be uncertain, for the saga continues : 'Some men say that Biarni and Freydis remained behind here with a hundred men and went no further, while Karlsefni and Snorri proceeded to the southward with forty men, tarrying at Hóp barely two months, and returning again the same summer.' The story then continues : 'Karlsefni then set out with one ship in search of Thorhall the Huntsman, but the greater part of the company remained behind.' They sailed away northward round Keelness, and then bore away to the west, having the land to the larboard. Here the country was 'a wooded wilderness as far as they could see, with scarcely an open space.' After going a considerable distance they sailed into the mouth of a river 'flowing from the east toward the west,' and lay to by the southern bank. Here one morning, in an

open space in the woods above them, they saw 'a speck which seemed to shine towards them.' 'They shouted at it; it stirred, and it was a Uniped, who skipped down to the bank of the river by which they were lying. Thorvald, a son of Eric the Red, was sitting at the helm, and the Uniped shot an arrow into his inwards. Thorvald drew out the arrow . . . and died soon after from the wound.' The Uniped ran back to the north pursued by Karlsefni and his men, but they failed to overtake him. 'The last they saw of him he ran down into a creek.'

After this misfortune, the adventurers, fearing to risk their lives any longer, and concluding that the mountains near to which they were, formed one chain with the mountains of Hóp, sailed back to the North and spent the winter, the third since they had left Greenland, at Stream-firth. 'Then the men began to divide into factions, of which the women were the cause; and those who were without wives endeavoured to seize upon the wives of those who were married, whence the greatest trouble arose. Snorri, Karlsefni's son, was born the first autumn, and he was three winters old when they took their departure.' On their return voyage 'they sailed away from Wineland' with a southerly wind, and 'so came upon Markland.' Here they found five Skrellings; one was bearded, two were women, and two were boys. The boys they captured. Their mother's name, they said, was Vætilldi, and their father's Uvægi. 'They said that kings governed the land of the Skrellings, one of whom was called Avalldamon, and the other Valldidida.' 'They stated that there were no houses there, and that the people lived in caves or holes. They said that there was a land on the other side over against their country, which was inhabited by people who wore white garments and yelled loudly, and carried poles before them, to which rags were attached, and people believed that Whitemen's Land. Now they arrived in Greenland, and remained during the winter with Eric the Red.' Biarni seems to have parted company with Karlsefni, for the Saga goes on to relate how he was 'driven out into the Atlantic,' and came into a sea which was filled with worms. Here, we are told

he and half of his companions perished, in consequence of their ship becoming worm-eaten and unseaworthy, while the rest managed to escape in a boat coated with seal-tar, a substance which the sea-worm, it appears, does not penetrate.

The story contained in the Flatey Book, as already mentioned, is in some respects different. One or two points have already been noticed. There are others. Here the first discovery is attributed not to Leif Ericsson, but to Biarni Heriulfsson. Biarni, it is said, was driven to the southward out of his course when voyaging from Iceland to Greenland, and thus came upon unknown lands, and as the direct result of his reports, Leif Ericsson is said to have been moved to go in search of the lands Biarni had seen, but not explored. He found them in due course, the Saga says, 'first the land which Biarni had seen last, and finally the southermost land,' to which, 'after its products,' he gave the name of Wineland. Over against this, however, must be put the historical accounts as well as those of the Western Sagas, all of which agree in attributing the original discovery to Leif, and under precisely the same circumstances. Further, not only is Biarni's discovery unknown in any other Icelandic writing now existing, no other mention of Biarni himself is to be found, notwithstanding that his father is said to have been 'a most distinguished man,' the grandson of a 'settler' and a kinsman of the first Icelandic colonist. Moreover, the discovery is antedated by about fifteen years, and Leif's voyage thrown forward to the year 1002. Eric the Red, again, is said to have died before Christianity was introduced into Greenland, whereas according to the historical statements, it was introduced before his death. Leif, again, is made to sail on his errand from Olaf Tryggvason, the year after Olaf was slain. The chronology of the Saga, in fact, is all awry. Some of its statements of fact are also wrong; for instance, Runolf, the father of Bishop Thorlak, is said to have been the son of Hallfrid the daughter of Snorri, Karlsefni's Wineland-born son, whereas he was Hallfrid's husband. Some of the incidents, as already stated, are also different from those of the Western recensions, but for these we must refer the reader to Mr. Reeves' volume. These diver-

gencies, however, it must be noted, do not militate against the fact of the discovery. At most they simply make a show of telling against the veracity of the Sagas on points of secondary importance.

One other point deserves to be mentioned. The news of the discovery was not confined to the Northmen. It was made known to foreigners by the prebendary Adam of Bremen, as early as the year 1076. In his work entitled *Descriptio insularum aquilonis*, the materials for which he obtained during a sojourn at the Court of the Danish king Svend Estridsson, and which he appears to have completed in the year just mentioned, he writes: 'Moreover he spoke of an island in that ocean discovered by many, which is called Wine-land, for the reason that vines grow wild there, which yield the best of wine. Moreover, that grain unsown grows there abundantly, is not a fabulous fancy, but, from the accounts of the Danes, we know it to be a fact. Beyond this island, it is said, there is no habitable land, but all the regions which are beyond are filled with insupportable ice and boundless gloom, to which Martian thus refers: "One day's sail beyond Thile the sea is frozen." This was essayed not long since by that very enterprising Northmen's prince, Harold, who explored the extent of the northern ocean with his ships, but was scarcely able to retreating to escape in safety from the gulf's enormous abyss, where, before his eyes, the vanishing bounds of earth were hidden in gloom.' Whether Columbus was acquainted with Adam's *Description* before he sailed on his famous voyage is uncertain. It is possible that he was, but the probability is he was not.

ART. V.—BEGINNINGS OF THE SCOTTISH NEWSPAPER PRESS.

IN the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, are two or three small quarto volumes containing all, probably, that the Scottish capital possesses of the news-sheets which enlightened the burghers of 'Auld Reekie,' and informed an alien soldiery during the

Cromwellian era. They are scattered numbers, as if collected by one who thought of posterity when it was almost too late, and are bound up with a few pages of faded chirography, decipherable only by an expert, and numerous controversial pamphlets and polemical tracts—the foam on the sea of that stormy period, and, like the foam, effectual neither in helping nor retarding the advancing waves. Turning over those age-bedimmed sheets in the seclusion and monastic gloom—beloved of students!—that dwell beneath the Parliament House, one may recall the circumstances under which they were produced—the bustle in the camp when a messenger arrives with despatches from the Parliament; the eagerness of Kit Higgins' 'devil' as he catches the packet of London Diurnals flung to him by the now dismounted horseman; the sharp click of types in the printing-house 'over against the Tron-Church,' as 'stick' by 'stick,' and column by column the papers are reproduced; the hurried making up of formes and their final deposition on the bed of the press; the aforesaid 'devil' daubing on the ink, and the sinewy pressman snapping down the 'tympan' and jerking the 'chill' with a strength that has left a matrix of the letters in the time-worn paper even unto this day! Then behold the distribution of the damp sheets, first to the English soldiery, and afterwards to the coffee-houses of the town, where the citizens most did congregate, each man an arsenal of offensive and defensive weapons, for the cautious Scot, it is said, did not abandon the use of armour until the year of grace 1710.

In 1536 the first *Gazetta* of Venice, a little manuscript sheet, was read to a group privileged to hear its contents, on payment of the coin which gave its name to the paper, and in that act christened many generations of long and short-lived publications. A few years later England saw the modest beginnings of a journalism that, in despite of press censorship and Star Chamber ordinance, was fostered by the indefatigable Nathaniel Butter, and developed in the more relaxed times of the Commonwealth, when Milton's *Areopagitica* anticipated the complete freedom of a later day. But it was not until 1652 that Scotland had any record of public affairs printed within her borders, and then the newspapers issued by Christopher Higgins, mainly for the infor-

mation of Cromwell's army, were facsimiles of English sheets published with the approval and patronage of Parliament. The cause of the delay is easily found. The very life of the press is freedom of thought and of action, and the greater the measure of freedom, and the more abounding the political and commercial activity of a people, the more vigorous and energetic is the vital influence of the press. Scotland had but little commerce to support, and scant science and art to enlighten and refine her sons, and while she gave a whole-hearted allegiance to the reformed church, which alone of all the forces in the State upheld the liberty of the citizen, the body ecclesiastic bound its members to the sway of a despotism that forbade the very appearance of liberty of thought. Besides, the uniform course of legislation had been to annul nearly all the advantages which the invention of printing afforded. From the moment of its introduction into the country, the art was hampered and restricted, and the license that James IV. granted to Walter Chapman and Andrew Miller, 'burgesses of Edinburgh,' implied an exercise of royal or governmental prerogative that does not appear to have been seriously contested. Such licenses granted the power to print books, Acts of Parliament, etc., but all publications were subjected to the inspection of a censor—ultimately to the purview of the Privy Council—and nothing had a chance of circulation that contained matter which these vigilant authorities could construe as offensive. The Government and the Church united in enforcing repressive measures, and in 1646 the Estates passed an Act prohibiting the printing of anything concerning religion or ecclesiastical affairs without the approval of the General Assembly. It was the necessary complement to a rule which excluded the ventilation of all ideas except such as kept well within the narrow path of Calvinistic doctrine—for nearly all the literature of this period was theological—that the dissemination of news should have been regarded with a jealous eye, on the one side by Government, and on the other by the Church. Hence we find that in 1643 the Commission of the General Assembly included among certain 'remedies of the present danger to religion,' suggested in a 'humble remonstrance to the Convention of Estates, the following remarkable petition:

‘Because thruch want of sure and tymous intelligence a greate pairt of the people are ather left to wncertane rumoures or flichted by the negligence of common beaereres Or abuseit with malignant informationes that thei nather know thair awin danger nor the danger of religioun in the countrey A solide ordour would be set down Whereby intelligence may goe furth from Ed^r to everie shyre, and so to everie particular pastor That the people may be informed both of thair danger and dewtie And an accompt taken of the faithfulness of men to whom matteres of so necessarie and publict concernement salbe comitted and of particular ministeres how thej acquite themselfis in matteres of so great traist.’

This plan for making the clergy universal newsmongers has little to commend it. Had it ever been adopted, it would probably have resulted in the publicity of just so much information as, between political exigency and ecclesiastical fearfulness, it would have seemed wise to avow; the good grain would have been sedulously destroyed, and the people fed upon chaff. In Cromwell’s day the Privy Council seems to have been invested with plenary powers in their dealings with printers; but before this time it had exercised similar and, probably, as extensive functions. In 1574 the Regent Morton obtained from the Council an edict prohibiting the issuing of any book, ballad, or other work, without previous examination and license, under pain of death and confiscation of goods. The instructions of Cromwell to General Monk and the other members of his Privy Council, dated 30th March, 1655, are as follows:—‘The said Councell are hereby authorised and impowered to erect and make use of and command any Presse or Presses there for the printing and publishing any Proclamaçons, Declaraçons, Orders, Bookes, or other matteres w^{ch} they shall thinke fitt for the publike service, and to prohibit the use thereof by any other persons, or in any cases where they shall see cause.’ This order is, however, to be judged by the light of its own time, and not to be summarily condemned because we hear in it an echo of warlike reverberations. But in the harshest spirit of such instructions the Council seem always to have acted against printers and all vendors of news, printed or in manuscript. Prior to 1652, the Scottish

people, who cared for such things, had received solely the newspapers of England and such smatterings of intelligence as the 'Tis said's' and 'We hear's' of the newsletter-writers could give. The profession of the correspondent was established long anterior to the Commonwealth, and it continued to live on, notwithstanding the opposition of the press, and the satires of dramatists, years after newspapers had gained a firm footing in Scotland itself. One such correspondent was located in Edinburgh, the diarist John Nicol, who every week provided the good folk of Glasgow with their pabulum of gossip—an insufficient quantity of it, we are led to suppose from the fact that the magistrates therein appointed one John Fleming 'to write to his man wha lies in London' to cause to be sent 'ane diurnal' for the town's use. Even the productions of such scribblers—providers of 'confections to feed the common people withal,' as an old play has it—lay not beyond the knowledge and jurisdiction of the Argus-eyed Privy Council, and we have records of more than one case where even the recipients of newsletters were brought under the lash of a despotic law.

As already indicated, until Cromwell's invasion, Scotland had produced not a single news-sheet, and all information as to events in other countries had been gained from English prints and through the doubtful medium of the professional letter-writer. If, however, Scotsmen were ignorant of the world's affairs, as they were known in those days, there was on the southern side of the border an equal carelessness of Scotsmen and their doings. This may be explained partly by the difficulties of communication—nothing like a regular post was attempted until 1635—and partly by a natural lack of sympathy between the people which especially made the more cultured English regard the Scotch with supercilious contempt. We may therefore accept as fully reliable the statement of Clarendon, that until the tumults of 1637, when Hamilton crossed the Tweed with an army of 15,000 men, there was so little desire in England 'to know anything of Scotland or what was done there, that when the whole nation was solicitous to know what passed weekly in Germany, Poland, and other parts of Europe, no man ever enquired what was doing in Scotland, nor had the kingdom a place or mention in one page

of any Gazette.' Such a reproach could not long be justly made, and about the era of the Solemn League and Covenant, the English people endured a surfeit of journals 'published in London and devoted to Scotch politics. In 1642, appeared '*The Scots Scout's Discoveries*' and in September, 1643, were issued simultaneously, '*The Scots Intelligencer*, or the Weekly News from Scotland and the Court' and '*The Scots Dove*'—the latter bearing the barbarous legend,

'Our Dove tells Newses from the King's,
And of harmonious letters sings.'

A copy of the *Dove* which I have seen teaches most effectually the happy advances of the last two centuries. There are startling depths of scurrility and obscenity revealed by nearly all the journals of this period; the *Dove*, despite its blameless name and its claim to voice 'harmonious letters' sinks to the lowest deep and revels in filth. '*Weekly Intelligence from the South Border of Scotland*,' was published in 1644; in 1651 came '*Mercurius Scoticus*,' and in 1652 '*The Theme, or Scoto-Presbyter*,' which last, says Chalmers, 'with admirable ridicule enquires, "whether it be not as little dishonourable for the Scots to be conquered by the English in 1652, as to have been these twelve years past slaves to the Covenant."'

When Cromwell had established himself at Leith, Christopher Higgins begins to reprint for the use of the English soldiery the London '*Diurnal of some Passages and Affairs*.' Chalmers says (in his *Life of Ruddiman*), 'King Charles carried Robert Baker with him to Newcastle in 1639, and General Cromwell conveyed Christopher Higgins to Leith in 1652.' The old antiquary here, as elsewhere, is too fond of an imaginary coincidence, and a passage from that scarce little book, James Watson's *History of the Art of Printing*, will be useful not only as correcting an error that Chalmers' successors have implicitly copied, but as giving in a quaint way a picture of matters typographical in Edinburgh during the civil war. 'After the reign of the royal martyr,' writes Watson, 'our noble art fell into a visible decay. Ewan Tyler, who was then the King's printer, as well as Robert Young, having printed for the usurper against the King, was

justly forfeited at Scoon and declar'd a rebel by King Charles II., anno 1650, and so left this kingdom : and Duncan Mond, stationer in Edinburgh, had a gift of King's printer conferr'd on him, which entirely cut off Tyler, and Robert Young by this time was dead. But the usurper still prevailing, Tyler made over his part of the forfeited gift to some stationers at London, who sent down Christopher Higgins and some English servants with him ; they printed only some newspapers and small books, and those very ill done to.'

A Diurnal of some Passages and Affairs was the official organ of the parliament, and the copy in the Advocates' Library, dated from Wednesday the 7th to the 14th of April, 1652, has the imprint, 'Printed at London and re-printed at Leith,' Higgins having had his press in that seaport previous to removing to Edinburgh. The small quarto of eight pages includes propositions humbly tendered to the committee for propagating the Gospel, 'for the supply of all parishes in England with able, godly, and orthodox ministers ;' despatches from Rotterdam, Paris, and other places abroad ; a reply of the Commissioners of Glasgow to the Parliament assenting to union with the Commonwealth of England, and parliamentary and other items—a record of events of the most meagre character and the driest possible reading to all except the student of the minutiae of history. The next paper Higgins reprinted was *Mercurius Politicus*—published by the order of Parliament. This was one of the publications edited by that splendid turncoat, Marchmont Nedham, the superior in ability to the only other noteworthy diurnal-writer of that era, John Birkenhead, but disgraced to all posterity by his chameleon-like politics. When a young man, Nedham threw in his lot with the popular party and wrote *Mercurius Britannicus* as a counter-blast to the *Mercurius Aulicus* of the royalist Birkenhead. Afterwards we find our versatile politician deserting to the other side, and as heartily anathematising people and Parliament in the pages of *Mercurius Pragmaticus* as aforetime he had blessed them. *Pragmaticus*, notwithstanding occasional lapses into insensate abuse, contained some really smart writing, as the appended verses testify :—

- ' A Scot and Jesuit, joined in hand,
First taught the world to say
That subjects ought to have command
And princes to obey.
- ' Then both agreed to have no King :
The Scotchmen, he cries further,
No bishop—'tis a goodly thing
States to reform by murther.
- ' Then th' Independent, meek and sly,
Most lowly lies at lurch,
And so, to put poor Jocky by,
Resolves to have no Church.
- ' The King dethroned, the subjects bleed,
The Church hath no abode ;
Let us conclude they're all agreed
That here there is no God.'

After this satire the Commons resolved to suppress Marchmont, but for some years he continued, moving from place to place to avoid arrest, to issue *Pragmaticus*. At length, Charles I. being beheaded, and the cause of the Stuarts descending below the horizon of men's hopes, Nedham fell, perhaps not unwillingly, into the hands of the Parliament, and compounded for his past offences by agreeing once more to become the champion of the Commonwealth. So came about the publication on June 13th, 1650, of *Mercurius Politicus*, and so happened, according to Mr. Fox Bourne and other historians, that curious accident which closely associated Nedham with John Milton—for Milton was censor of the press from January, 1651, till the same month of 1652, and his was the restrained tone which for a time animated the new journal. Perhaps the straightforward Milton held his slippery colleague in as much regard as honest Ajax did the subtle Odysseus.

In 1659, Higgins was still reprinting *Mercurius Politicus*, and at the close of the same year he issued a paper entitled *Mercurius Britannicus*, or a Collection of such real and faithful Intelligence as can be gathered from England and in Scotland concerning the present transactions from them both. By an officer of the Parliament's army in Scotland. The number dated Tuesday 20th to Friday December 23rd, is a small quarto of twelve pages

with the imprint, 'Edinburgh, Printed by Christopher Higgins in Hart's Close, over against the Trone-Church, 1659.' Noticing the omission from the imprint of any indebtedness to London, which seems always to have been acknowledged when due, and the fact that the paper is avowedly written by a person in Scotland, it may reasonably be asked, if this *Mercury* is not the earliest of its kind north of the Tweed—not a native product, or even altogether the original work of an English officer, but a collection from various diurnals with such fresh information as could be gathered in Edinburgh, appearing under the title mentioned? The 'author' assures his readers that 'these following papers' came 'suddenly and unexpectedly into my hands in that very nick of time that my last papers had passed the Presse.' So desirous, therefore, is he for all to share in the feast of good things that, says he, 'I will not longer keep you at the porch, but rather invite you to come in and read, I hope to your real contentment and delight.' Judged by the modern *menu* the repast provided is a meagre one. The number contains a letter to the Protector from 'the noblemen, gentlemen, justices, and freeholders of the shires of Fife and Kinross,' addressed because the writers 'conceive ourselves bound to pay our thankfull acknowledgments of those many and great obligeements you have put upon us.' The cautious editorial comment—it might have been written by a Scotchman rather than a Southerner—is, 'the letter is honest, full, and I doubt not but cordial; being owned by the manual subscription of about one hundred and thirty of them.' News and letters in the paper appear in italics, and the 'author's' matter in a larger, bolder character, but here, and still more in other copies of these ancient sheets, there is astounding irregularity in the use of type, pages facing each other and containing the several parts of a communication being 'set' the one in what is known as 'long-primer,' the next in 'minion' or 'nonpareil,' while, in the case of a Scriptural quotation, the proprieties were observed by its embodiment in big 'Old English' letters. Between the longer paragraphs are items of interest placed thus:—

'Not a penny will be paid after this month, nor will the people pay a penny tax, without consent of Parliament.'

By way of conclusion, the writer, addressing himself to 'gentlemen and Fellow-Souldiers,' says, 'And so I shall shut up my present Intelligence; not doubting for the future a frequent and sufficient supply: for, though they double their guards and circumspection in their accustomed restrictions; yet the All-wise Providence can so order the way that a Bird in the Aire shall tell the matter.' Providence is not so kind to the ardent reporter now-a-days. Another copy of *Mercurius Britannicus* furnishes a fair sample of what may be termed 'the editorial vituperative,' wherein an enthusiastic Roundhead slashes a rival Royalist in a gross but surely effective manner. 'Politicus,' he avows, gives 'a sad Prognostick of the Cause he so feebly maintains by turning ubiquitary in writing at Newcastle and London, and both in an instant.' 'The various shiftings of this Gypsie,' *Britannicus* adds, 'is too tiresome for my wearied legs.' Further, this unfortunate rival is 'a pitiful fellow,' who would gladly be taken for 'a Critic before he can display the meaner Ensigns of a Schoolboy;' 'an impudent fly-catcher;' an inventor of 'frothy passages;' counting it 'no shame to betray his thick and muddy skull,' and now beginning to 'give a prospect of his brazen face,' and perhaps to venture 'a sorry, skinny jest.' The *coup de grâce* is thus given, 'Thou beastly scullion. Canst thou not have a Partridge or Pheasant prepared for thy Master's use, but your Sauce-ship must necessarily lard it with the ranke Collops of thine own Goose-grease? Hah! away and begon, if you love your health; for a stay and a surfet here can by no means be separated.'

In 1659, also, Higgins issued what I have no hesitation in describing as indubitably the first original newspaper published in Scotland, of which any copy is extant. A clause in the sheet would seem to indicate that it was one of a series which had their origin in Edinburgh, but of these it is probably the solitary survivor. It is entitled 'The Faithfull Intelligencer From the Parliament's Army in Scotland. Written by an Officer of the Army there;' bears the imprint, 'Edinburgh, Printed by Christopher Higgins in Hart's Close over against the Trone-Church, anno 1659,' and is dated from Tuesday November 29th to Saturday December 3rd. The author informs his readers that 'through a gracious Providence' his condition is of

a 'much more contenting and better Edition than that which amounts to a Diurnal-Writer'—for whom he appears to have had no little contempt—but confesses that he is unable to withhold himself when he finds 'so many sad and infamous Scandals pind upon all concernments amongst us, from the General to the sentinel, from the Magistrate to the Peasant, from the Priest to the meanest of the People.' His purpose is rather 'to become an honest fool in print than a real and easy slave under ignorance and silence,' and some cynics may have thought that he succeeded in his object, for after giving a number of letters he occupies the remainder of his space with a reply to 'a numerous and uncouth Catalogue of Lyes which I find not to be more impudently pend than arrogantly intruded upon us by the late *Politicus*.' This was a work of supererogation—a beating of the dead horse; but the writer's heart was evidently in it, and in the odd page or so remaining to him in the little quarto he gave rein to a vigorous partisan spirit. This curious little journal has been entirely overlooked by historians of the press, who indeed accredit to Higgins the republication of only two sheets, the *Diurnal of Some Passages and Affairs*, and *Mercurius Politicus*, and as there can be no doubt of its genuineness, it affords strong evidence that it, and not *Mercurius Caledonius* (written by Thomas Sydserf in 1661), is entitled to rank as the first Scotch newspaper, though the latter has the added interest of being of Scottish manufacture.

Higgins apparently concluded his labours as newsmonger to the northern Kingdom with the reprinting of *Mercurius Publicus*, which he issued until after the return from exile of Charles II. Later in the year 1660 *Mercurius Publicus* was produced with a somewhat altered second title, but the familiar imprint of the old publisher had disappeared from the sheet, which bore only the words, 'Printed at London and re-printed at Edinburgh.' Whether Higgins found it impossible after the Restoration to retain his influential position, or whether his decease was contemporaneous with the final overthrow of the Commonwealth, history recordeth not. Conning over, page by page, the desperately ugly specimens of typography he gave to Scotland (yet they constitute the beginnings of the now powerful

Scottish press), one cannot but regret that these are the sole memorials of the printer, these and the words I have so often quoted, 'Christopher Higgins, in Hart's Close, over against the Trone-Church.'

J. D. COCKBURN.

ART. VI.—SCOTCH DIVINES AND ENGLISH
BISHOPS, 1606.

IF a naked sword had been brandished in the face of James I. at the Hampton Court Conference—and he was proverbially terrified at the sight of cold steel—it could hardly have excited greater dismay and indignation in his breast than the word 'Presbytery' in the mouth of that moderate Nonconformist, Dr. Reynolds. 'Ye are aiming at a Scotch Presbytery,' he cried passionately, 'which agreeth with a monarchy as God with the devil. Stay, I pray you, for one seven years before you demand that from me, and if then you find me fussy and fat, and my windpipes stuffed, I will perhaps hearken unto you, for, let *that* government be once up, I am sure I shall be kept in breath.' Certainly, on his own showing, James had had no time to grow fat and scant of breath during the early part of his reign, when every year brought him more and more acutely into collision with the Church. 'A Scottish Presbytery agreeth with a monarchy as God and the devil!' that is the epigrammatic way in which James describes the conflict. With far more passion, and with a solemnity of which he was incapable, the ministers declared that it was the Lord Jesus Himself 'Whose crown and kingdom are violently invaded; with Whom the king has entered in action for redding of Merches' (*i.e.*, settling of boundaries); he, a 'lytle erthlie Regulus,' against 'the Heir of the World and the King of Glory!'

Not that there was any actual doctrinal disagreement between them. James I. particularly plumed himself on his religious orthodoxy. No title was pleasanter to him than that of 'Defender of the Faith,' no exercise more delightful to his in-

ordinate vanity and subtle wits than religious controversy. Nor was he naturally intolerant; his extensive reading and excellent understanding, as well as the frivolity of his character—which prevented his having any strong religious convictions—made him more liberal in opinion than most of the men of his age. But there was one dogma he held with a personal and passionate fervour far beyond what he felt for any religious truth—the dogma of the ‘divine right of Kings.’ It is difficult to see distinctly where he got that singular dogma. At the Reformation, doubtless, much of the divine authority which had been hitherto vested in the Pope was transferred to the monarch, as temporal head of the Church. In England this had certainly been so, but who can say that it had been the case in Scotland, where John Knox had, by his relentless logic, once and again reduced Mary Stuart to tears? and where the Republican and severely Protestant George Buchanan had but scant respect for the divine right of his royal pupil! Dislike to that stern pedagogue, and reaction against all he taught, must go for something in the formation of James’s opinions. The Duc d’Aubigné, moreover, the first of his long list of favourites, who had gained the boy’s entire confidence ‘at the entrance of his springald age,’ may have imbued him with the ideas that prevailed at the French Court.

Be this as it may, we must still give James credit for having to a great extent elaborated out of his own brain that dogma which was destined, throughout four generations, to be the destruction of his ill-fated race, leading them to death, exile, and finally to abject personal deterioration. There is an irony in the fact that it was precisely the later Stuarts, with their miserable personalities, who were infatuated with the belief in their indefeasible divine right!

It was in virtue of this divine right that James claimed control in matters ecclesiastical; the sole right to summon and prorogue General Assemblies, to upset the Presbyterian government of the Church of Scotland, and establish bishops according to his favourite maxim, ‘No bishop no king.’ It was on these two points that constant battles were fought between him and the ministers. To us the position they assumed of complete independence of the civil power, and the claim they made at the

same time to discipline and control all social life, seem extreme and inadmissible. But there is much in the character both of the time and the country in which they lived to explain, if not to justify, their claims, and even more in the beliefs which they held in common with all the Reformed Churches. In Scotland, where the nobility was for the most part rapacious and unscrupulous, and where the hearts of the people had not yet awakened to a consciousness of citizenship, the Church was absolutely the only power which made, not only for enlightenment, but for bare law and order. So it was natural enough that ministers felt the need of discipline and authority to enforce the teaching of the Word. Moreover, in that Word itself they thought they found ample justification for what they claimed.

The Bible was to them a complete and absolute rule of life, prescribing the forms in which God was to be worshipped as distinctly as the spirit in which He was to be served. Science had not as yet removed God to an infinite distance from the worshipper who can only seek after Him as manifested in His laws, nor had history revealed the many ways in which He has fulfilled Himself to the various peoples and nations of the earth. To the Scotch Calvinist He was as much 'God, *our* God' as to the Jews of the exile, and the law of the Priestly Thora was hardly less binding on his observance than the Sermon on the Mount.

Granted this complete revelation of God in the Scriptures, the difficulty of the interpretation of the same still remained, but it was impossible for earnest and devout men—believing fervently in the indwelling Spirit—to believe that they had failed to grasp the meaning of what they studied so constantly and with such complete devotion.

They were far from being unlearned these divines of the generation which intervened between the first Reformers and the men of the Covenant. The fathers are quoted freely in their writings—and always as evidence on the side of Presbyterianism!—and classical illustrations are introduced with an often curious and naïve pedantry. But they owed to their humanistic training something far greater than rhetorical decorations. They had caught from the study of antiquity something of that

republican spirit which, in the next generation, was to make Milton the sternest opponent of kings.

Armed, then, with what they held to be a divine authority, with a faith for which they were cheerfully prepared to die, and with a frank and fearless manner of speech which knew no respect of persons, these Scotch ministers came once and again into the royal presence. One wonders what the bishops of Elizabeth—accustomed to be rated and scolded by their royal mistress—would have thought if they could have heard how, in his own palace of Falkland, the Scottish king was taken to task by Mr. Andrew Melville for permitting the return of the Papist lords, an act sound in policy however repugnant to the feelings of zealous Protestants.

‘Mr. Andro brak aff upon the King in sa zealous, powerfule, and unresistable a manere that, howbeit the King used his authoritie in maist crabbit and cholerick manere, yet Mr. Andro bure him dune and uttered the Commission as from a michtie God, calling the King bot “God’s sillie vassel.” And taking him by the sleeve sayes this in effect through manie interruptions and mickle hot reassouning. . . . “Thair is twa Kingis and twa Kingdomes in Scotland. Thair is Chryst Jesus the King, and His Kingdome the Church, whase subject King James the Saxt is, and in that Kingdom not a King, nor a Lord, but a member,” with much more to the same effect.’

This Mr. Andrew Melville was by far the most prominent and important man in the Scottish Church, indeed he is the only one amongst the ministers upon whom the mantle of John Knox can be said to have fallen. A less rich-natured man than Knox, he had neither his genius nor his statesmanlike qualities, while an equal measure of his predecessor’s violence seems to have fallen to his share. One great and important advantage he possessed over Knox, he was one of the most learned men of his time. In his youth he had been one of those wandering Scotch scholars who, following in the footsteps of Buchanan, had made a name for themselves at French universities. At Geneva he had sat at the feet of Beza, and had imbibed the ideas of Calvinism at its fountainhead, so that his nephew and most affectionate disciple, Mr. James Melville, might well say of him,

'As to that he brought hame with him: It was that plentiful and inexhaust treasure of all guid letters and lerning baith of human and divyne things; and that quhilk superexcelles, an profound knowledge, upright sinceritie and fervent zeal in trew religion, and to put the same in use for the profit of his kirk and countrey, ane unwearied painfulness and insatiable pleasoure to give out, and bestow the same without any recompence or gain.' For the first six years after his return to Scotland his was the worthy and congenial task of bringing the new humanistic learning into the Scottish universities. The six years course of study he introduced at Glasgow would have satisfied the requirements of Cardinal Newman as a scheme of university training. For the various branches of knowledge studied in the first five years culminated in, and were all subservient to the study of Theology, which occupied the sixth year.

Theology was indeed the universal study of that age, and Humanism, which in Italy had almost restored Paganism, was in Protestant countries brought into bondage to Theology. To use the curious expression of a Scotch divine of the time, 'As the Israelites borrowed jewels of Egypt which they dedicated to their tabernacles, so whatsoever golden and precious sentences may be read among the ethnical philosophers, orators, and poets, may be consecrated to the worship of God.' It was impossible for letters to flourish vigorously in this subordinate position, and, for the next hundred years at least, all the thought and active energies of the Scottish nation were concentrated on religion, a vast gain doubtless to the life of the people, but, like all great gains, demanding a heavy price.

There are few figures more dignified and attractive than that of some scholar or man of letters who, in times of religious or political controversy, has known how to withdraw himself from the current of public life, and in some quiet shelter has been content to realise in himself the truths for which other more active men are contending, and which they are striving to introduce by force or even violence into the general life of society. Men like Lord Falkland, George Herbert, Archbishop Leighton, are nearer our modern sympathies than Cromwell, George Fox, and the Covenanters. And yet, comparing

such peaceful and dignified figures with those who, worn and wounded in the arena, have 'entered into life maimed,' who shall dare to say that it is the first who have chosen the more excellent way?

Had Andrew Melville willed it, he might have spent an honoured and dignified life teaching those humanistic studies he loved so well; Court favour would have been showered upon him, and he might have exchanged epigrams and pedantries with James I. to their mutual satisfaction. But Mr. Andrew thought otherwise, for though he believed 'his tyme to be maist profitabil bestowit in doing, teaching and framing of guid instruments for the maintenance of the treuth and wark of the ministrie and schools,' the Church, at that time, had need not only of able teachers but of stout defenders. It was less, perhaps, deliberate choice than the promptings of his perfervid spirit that induced Mr. Andrew to exchange the quiet usefulness of teaching for the wear and tear of defending the Church. It was not only his ease and his tastes that he gave up. Much that was most delightful in his character was sacrificed also. As a teacher he had infinite patience, 'When it twitched his awin particular no man could crab him (*i.e.*, where it concerned his own interest no one could put him out of temper); where the interests of the Church were concerned he was violent, imperious, irrepressible, as we have seen him at Falkland.' A man like James I., whose policy was often so fatally perverted by a weak affection for his favourites, must have been almost equally moved by his antipathies, and doubtless his dislike of this loud-voiced, fearless, logical opponent must have helped to accentuate his detestation of Presbyterianism. For Mr. James Melville, the nephew, he seems to have had a certain kindness, believing, perhaps, from the gentle and courteous demeanour of the minister of Anstruther that he might be more easily won over by Court favour than his uncle. Wherein, however, James, with all his astuteness, was much mistaken. For though 'ane meik and peaceabil man,' Mr. James was no whit behind his uncle in 'heroicall stoutness.' It is from the pen of this most genial of Scotch controversialists that we have a very living picture of the religious life of his time. If it is his misfortune to have to chronicle the moves and

countermoves, the arguments and replies of endless ecclesiastical disputes, it is his great merit to have done so with such liveliness and power that the old time begins to live before us, and we realise how those old dead questions were not factious quibbles, but matters vitally concerning the spiritual lives and liberties of thoughtful, passionately earnest men. There are few pages of this delightful diary more interesting, and certainly none more diverting, than those which describe the visit of the writer, his uncle, Mr. Andrew, and six other ministers, to England in the year 1606.

After James had been removed from 'the faithful dealing' of the ministers of his native land and placed in the society of English Bishops, who held the dogma of the Divine Right of Kings as implicitly, and possibly as sincerely as he did himself, his dealings with the Church of Scotland had waxed more and more arbitrary till they had culminated in the suspension of the General Assembly and the imprisonment of several of the best and ablest ministers. The indignation and dismay felt by the principal men in the Church at this high-handed act were not allayed or soothed by the sight of the new-made bishops riding in state to take their places in Parliament for the first time since the overthrow of the Old Church. Surely evil days had fallen upon the Church of the Lord, and it was with misgivings as well as considerable embitterment of spirit that Andrew and James Melville and six other ministers accepted the King's invitation to come to Hampton Court to talk over Church matters with him.

The ships that daily brought to the port of London swarms of ambitious courtiers, needy adventurers, enterprising tradesmen, certainly never landed a stranger company than that little band of grave, soberly suited divines, who entered London in the last week of August, 1606, and took up their abode at Blackfriars. Through the heart of the great city, so opulent, so exuberantly full of life and enterprise and enjoyment, they passed very much as Christian and Faithful walked in Vanity Fair, and like those pilgrims they too might have declared in all good faith, 'We buy the Truth.' And at that very time Shakespeare's plays were being acted within a stone's throw, and the Mermaid Tavern was at no

great distance! And yet what an infinite gulf divides Ben Jonson and his witty crew from these serious men expounding the Scriptures to one another at every meal, and conversing only with a few members of certain poor obscure sects!

On September 19th, they are called to the King's presence, he at that time being at Hampton Court, and are civilly enough received. The next day being Sunday, they are summoned to attend the King's Chapel, it being a hopeful and ingenious idea of the King's to convert these stubborn northern subjects by making them hear sermons on the divine institution of Episcopacy and the royal supremacy in a place where there could be no possibility of reply. But 'the long well-joynd sermons written and briefly compacted in ane lytel buik', preached on consecutive Tuesdays and Sundays by four different bishops did little to impress men who had spent their lives in searching for contrary arguments in the Scriptures and Fathers. So seven of them merely 'hard them patiently,' while Mr. Andrew employed himself in polishing Latin epigrams on the Popish furnishings of the altar, an amusement which was to cost him dear, as we shall see. Had these ministers not been so completely and comfortably wrapt up in their prejudices surely they must have discerned a difference between a worldly and courtly Bishop Barlow and a saintly and scholarly Bishop Andrews. But we '*hard* them patiently,' we certainly did not *listen* to them!

The day fixed for the hearing of the Scottish ministers was the 23rd. It was an august assembly into which they were ushered. The King was surrounded by his English Counsellors and Bishops, as well as by his Scottish Counsellors. Moreover, the lately made Scottish Bishops and Church Commissioners—to a man in the interests of the King—were also present, so that the ministers found themselves face to face with all their enemies at once. There was the metropolitan Gladstones, so lately a convert from their own ranks; Spotswood the Bishop of Glasgow, whose own father had protested so hotly against Episcopacy, as the ministers remembered with rising indignation; the King's Advocate, Sir Thomas Hamilton, and his Great Commissioner, Lawriestone, who had so shamefully

pervverted justice at the trial of the protesting ministers just six months before.

It would be most desirable that we might have an account from the pen of some observant English spectator, of the appearance made by those eight grave, intensely earnest men, absorbed in questions which, to English statesmen, must have seemed trivial and incomprehensible, and to English Bishops, hopelessly wrong-headed. Moreover, to men accustomed to that intellectual paganism and courtly frivolity with which Elizabeth had surrounded herself in the last years of her reign, the sight of their monarch condescending to argue points of doctrine and discipline with his subjects must have been sufficiently astonishing. But their wonder must have grown—and surely was not unmixed with amusement—when they heard the manner of speech of these plain, uncompromising men. Though Mr. James kept that courteous moderation, which with him was less the fruit of caution than of his gentle nature, the irrepressible Mr. Andrew ‘talkit all his mind, after his awin manere, roundly, soundly, fully, friely, and fervently, for the space of a whole hour.’ Another minister, Mr. Scot, was taken to task by the Advocate, and (the national love of argument being as strong in the Scottish lawyer as in the Scottish minister) there ensued ‘ane prettie piece of logicall and legall reassonnings quhilk delighted the judicious auditore,’ which one is rather surprised to hear. The ministers, indeed, at this point seem to have been comforted by a consciousness that there was a secret sympathy with them on the part of their English hearers. For two other ministers spoke their minds ‘friely, stoutly, and plainly, to the admiration of the English auditour, quho were not accustomed to hear the King so talkit to and reassonnit with.’ Such freedom of speech was indeed a new thing at the English Court, where even the Non-conformists, with whom James had condescended to dispute at the Hampton Court Conference, had acknowledged the King’s supremacy in terms that would have stuck in the throat of the obscurest Scotch minister.

So far the audience had gone off quietly enough, but Mr. Andrews, who was not only like Elihu in being ‘full of words

and constrained by the spirit within him,' but also in 'respecting no man's person,' 'craiffit license humblie to speak bak again, and then broke out in his awin manner,' defending the imprisoned ministers and arraigning their accusers there present, till James, wearied and irritated, could hold out no longer, and 'curtly rying and turning his back sayes, "God be with you, sirs."' This was the last personal interview James and his old opponents were to have. A few days later, Mr. James and his uncle were summoned before the Scottish Council sitting at Hampton Court.

Nothing makes one realise better how far Scotland was behind England at this time in the essentials of civilization than the unscrupulous way in which justice was perverted in the Northern Kingdom. In Scotland, as we have said, the Church alone offered any resistance to arbitrary power; in England the liberties of the people were guarded not only by the House of Commons and by forms of law that might not be questioned nor put aside, but also by the habit of demanding and expecting justice, which had for generations been growing up in the nation at large. But this Council being composed of the least scrupulous and most subservient of the Scotch nobility, did not hesitate to put questions to Mr. James, with a view to making him admit such things as could be used against him. But it was not for nought that he had been endowed 'with some piece of naturall witt, and bein little lernit and taught in the scholles,' he declared 'he was of no law or reassoun bound to accuse himself,' and then with a fine touch of indignation—which must surely have made some of his hearers ashamed of themselves—'he desyrit the noblemen who were thair present to remember quhat they were, and to deal with him (howbeit ane puir man, yet a *frieborn, gentil* Scotisman) as they would be content to be usit themselves, that is, by the laws of Scotland.'

Seeing that neither the sight of his present magnificence, nor the sermons of his Bishops, nor their own isolation in a strange land, could in the least abate the spirit of the eight ministers, James had recourse to his favourite art of 'King-craft.' It was his shrewd, treacherous, unkingly plan to keep these, his most important opponents, hanging on in London [howbeit they had come at his own royal invitation], while, in the North, his Coun-

sellors—the Bishops of his making—were reducing the Church of Scotland to obedience and introducing a settled Episcopacy.

So for several months the ministers stayed on in London, 'keeping a good table' at their own costs, having a most honourable horror of being confounded with those 'needy Scots' who swarmed up to London, and of whom 'there was a common bruit and opinioun among the peopill of England, that alle Scottismen came hither to beg and purse up the money of the land and carrie it away with them hame, quhilk was none of our eirand who had sufficient to live on according to our several callings at hame.' It was a weary time of waiting; they were excluded from Court, and had no powerful friends, so that they had the mortification of feeling that nothing was being effected, and every post from Scotland brought news of the triumph of their enemies and the overthrow of that godly order and discipline for which they had given their lives and labours. Moreover, the plague was raging all over Scotland that year, and many among their flocks were perishing with none to lend them the last comforts of religion, or to speak confidently and hopefully of the world to come, which must have been a grief of heart to the exiled pastors. In the meantime the King had found a handle against Andrew Melville in a copy of the Latin epigram on the furnishing of the altar, which somehow had fallen into his hands. It was a formidable matter to have to face the English Counsel on an accusation of treason, but to the warlike soul of Mr. Andrew, it presented merely a glorious opportunity of testifying against the prevailing corruptions of the Church of England. After briefly admitting the authorship of the verses, he boldly carries the war into the enemies' country. Bancroft, the Archbishop of Canterbury, an ambitious and haughty man, more accustomed to brow-beat Non-conformists than to hear the plain truth from any one, must have fairly gasped when this fearless, unabashed stranger, standing as a culprit before him, *him*, the Primate of England, 'sitting upmost at the Council table,' 'tuik occasion, plainly to his face, befor the whole Council, to tell him all his mynd, which burst out as enclosed fyre in water! He burdeinit him with all thair corruptiones and vanities and superstitiones, with profanatioune of the Sabath-day, silenceing, imprissouning, and beiring down of

the true and faithful preicheres of the word of God . . . And taking him by the quhyte sleeves of his rochet, and schaking them in his manere, friely and roundly callit them Romish Rags and a pairt of the Beaste's Mark.'

A bomb-shell suddenly exploding in their midst could hardly have been more startling to that decorous assembly, but, unwearied and unabashed, Mr. Andrew went on 'as lang as he gat audience and permissione, but he was aft interrupted. and at last put forth in a place by himself,' doubtless to the unspeakable relief of everybody present, especially of the Primate, whose mind must have been as ruffled as his sleeves by such an onslaught. It speakes volumes for the courtesy and justice of that assembly of well-bred Englishmen that they thereupon 'usit Mr. James verie courteouslie with a style of lairneing, gravitie, godlinesse, wisdom, honestie, and truthe.' Finally, Mr. Andrew is exhorted that 'with his learning and years he should joyne wisdom, gravitie, modestie, and discretion, and was then committit to the Dean of Paulis to remaine in his custodie during the King's pleasoure.' The poor Dean! How gladly would one have a confidential account of his feelings on the arrival of this strange guest, and of what manner of conversation he had with him. The other ministers continued to live on in London, 'wrassling through the longsume winter with what patience we could,' till in March there arrives a mandate from the king which cuts their Scottish and Presbyterian souls to the quick.

Being possibly still desirous of reclaiming these obstinate subjects from their erroneous and inconvenient opinions, the king had hit upon the idea of domiciling them separately with several of his 'grave and lernit Bishops' to the intent that the Episcopal conversation might convert them from the error of their ways. The indignation of the ministers took form in an address to the English Council, wherein, with much passion and no little dignity, they demand 'quhy should we lose our liberty, dishonour and obscure the æstimationne of our Kirk, and blott our awin honestie (quhilk is pure), making ourselves our Master's Bondsmen, daily approuveres, to the appeirance of men, of that quhilk our Kirk condemns, seeming to be loiterers, feeding idleness at the tables of strangers, haifing honest callingis, pro-

visiounes, and houses, whereby to live as pastoris of congregatiounes and fathers of families at home.'

There is a curious interview described between the usually gentle, but now fairly exasperated, Mr. James and his proposed host, the Bishop of Durham. The Scotch minister begins by begging the Bishop to join with him in pointing out to the King the unsuitableness of the arrangement. In the first place he, Mr. James, 'was not accustomed to sit at other men's taibles, haifing an honest taible of his awin at home' (there speaks the Scotsman, the countryman of Richard Monieplies); secondly, there can be no comfort in men dwelling together who differ so completely in opinion (there speaks the theologian and the spirit of the sixteenth century); finally, he appeals to the Bishop, as himself a shepherd of souls, to consider the state of the poor deserted flocks in Scotland deprived of their ministers (there speaks the true pastoral spirit, perhaps, after all, the strongest element in Mr. James' character). If the Bishop's answer is a little 'sillie and confussit' a good deal may be said for an honest, elderly gentleman put in such a position. He is evidently anxious to obey the King, is ashamed of seeming to lack hospitality, and above all is desperately embarrassed by the earnestness of his guest, whose very speech he probably understood very imperfectly! In his reply he alludes to the King's supremacy, which gives Mr. James an opportunity of opening fire upon bishops in general, and the absence of all Scriptural warrant for them. To which the Bishop can only reply rather feebly that he had gone into all these matters at one time, and that 'he was ane old doctor, and had been oftentimes Chancelar of the University of Oxford.' Hardly a conclusive argument, as Mr. James tells him 'shortly and pleanly all this provit nor concludit naething. It wad be stronger reassounes that would reclame them.' So this odd interview comes to an end without much result to either party.

Nor was more satisfaction to be got out of the Archbishop of Canterbury, to whom the Council had passed on the ministers' petition. It is a misfortune that we chiefly see the bishops of this time either as servile courtiers or as severe oppressors of the Nonconformists. As a servant of his own Church, Bancroft was

undoubtedly zealous, devoted, and enlightened. In the interview at Lambeth with Mr. James and his two colleagues he showed none of that ill-temper and insolence with which he had treated the Nonconformists at the Hampton Court Conference. On the contrary he treats them with the easy courtesy of a well-bred man of the world, who entirely ignores his guests' point of view, and hardly considers it worth understanding, knowing beforehand how unreasonable and fanatical it is likely to prove. He begins by trying to show that far from wishing to imprison or insult them it is of his kind care and courtesy that the king wishes them to be domiciled with his bishops. But, unmoved by this palpable falsehood, the ministers object that 'there is no injurie worse nor compulsorie kindness,' and go on to protest 'what kind of guests would they make in Bishops' palaces?' for it is evident to them at least that 'quhair opinionnes differ there affectionne cannot be sownd.' To which the Archbishop agrees pleasantly and with a touch of delicate malice, saying, 'I do think, my Bretherin, that the Bishopes would have little pleisoure of you except to pleisoure the King's Majestie; for our custome is efter our serious matteres to refresche ourselves ane hour or two with cairdis and uther gamis efter mealis, but ye are mair precise.' Then, taking a graver tone, he goes on—in language which in our day we can thankfully acknowledge to have a real meaning and significance—affecting to conciliate them by declaring that they are 'Bretherin in Chryst,' and that 'we doe boith hauld and keip the trew grounds of religion'—one seems to see the look of grim dissent on the three Scotch faces—'and,' the Bishop continues, (and surely a look of malicious triumph must have broken through the decorous urbanity of his manner,) 'our difference is only in the governeing of the Kirk and some ceremonies, but I understand since ye cam from Scotland your Kirk is almost brought to be one with ours in this alsoe; for I am certified that thair is constant moderatouris appoyntit in your General Assemblies, Synods, and Presbyteries . . . and in everie Province and Diocese thair is a Bisshope answerabill all to the King.' Words which must have fallen like frost on the hearts of his hearers, who could not, as he well knew, deny the unpalatable facts. None of the three having the

audacity and passion of Mr. Andrew, Mr. Scot begins 'laying sic groundis as micht beir upe a suir and grave wark,' but the March afternoon is wearing away, and the Bishop's patience is almost done, and he knows by this time pretty well what a Scotch discourse is likely to be, so with a certain contemptuous, English good-nature, he interrupts the speaker, 'smyling, and chapping on his arme, and saying, "Tush man! Tak' here a coupe of good sack,"' *which they did!* It must have flashed across the Bishop, as with his own hands he poured out the wine for his guests, that the task of accommodation would have been much easier if only Presbyterian fanatics and stubborn Nonconformists had been more addicted to 'cakes and ale.'

'So neir six houris of the eftirnoon' the Bishop sent them away, and 'we were no moir trublit with that matter of going to Bishops again.'

One more scene and then this curious page of history closes, closes sadly enough too, as we shall see. Untaught by experience, or rather undaunted by any risk he might incur, Mr. Andrew fell again into his dangerous trick of verse-making. The vain and superstitious celebration of St. George's Day had incensed his spirit and been the cause of certain verses, poor enough, one would have thought, to have escaped notice altogether. But on the 23rd of April, he lying then at Bow, two miles from London, a servant of my Lord of Salisbury arrives very early and courteously entreats him to come with all haste to Court to Whitehall to his master's chambers, and to be there by nine of the clock. Mr. Andrew who, after all, must have kept a good deal of a scholar's simplicity thinks this a mere act of friendship, and that my Lord would bid him to dinner. Posting with all speed to Whitehall, he stops at his nephew's lodgings to take a hasty breakfast, but Mr. James, (who far more than his uncle combined the wisdom of the serpent with the gentleness of the dove) becomes suspicious at once, and he and two of his colleagues making what speed they may, take 'the first convenient boating and arrive at Westminster, where they wait rather anxiously in the house of a friendly compatriot. When, about eleven, Mr. Andrew reappears he has rather a mortifying tale to tell. For two hours he had waited in a gallery outside my Lord's

chambers, no one taking any notice of him, and at last had seen the company go into dinner without him.

Somehow there is in this insulting neglect of the old scholar—a stranger moreover and a bidden guest—something which awakens a quicker resentment in us than many a harsh act of persecution. But Mr. Andrew had, in some sort, his revenge, for as he paced up and down the gallery he meditated on the Second Psalm, ‘Why do the heathen so furiously rage, and the people imagine a vain thing?’

Sitting at dinner with his colleagues he recited with much satisfaction his St. George’s verses.

‘Well,’ said his cousin, ‘eit your dinner and be of good courage, for I sall warrand ye sall be before the Counsel for your verses.’

Such a speech is like the sound of a trumpet to an old war-horse. ‘Well,’ says he, ‘my hairt is full and emboldened, and I will be glad to have an occasion to disburden it and speak all my mind pleantly to them for the dishonouring of Christ and wreck of so manie puir soulis of their doings.’

Dinner was but half over when some one comes from my Lord of Salisbury demanding Mr. Andrew’s presence. Surely there is more of dignity than churlishness in his reply, ‘Sir, I waited very longe upone my Lord’s dinner till I waxed very hungry. I pray my Lord to suffer me to tak a lytle of mine own dinner.’ But a second messenger arrives and there may be no longer delay, so, having risen and said a prayer, he goes off with Mr. Hay ‘with great commotioun of mynd.’

This was the only parting these two kinsmen were to have. Two-and-thirty years before, in the harvest days of 1574, in the old family home at Baldow, Mr. Andrew, then a scholar of European reputation, had completely won the enthusiastic devotion of the boy-student, Mr. James, as they sat together over their Virgil and Homer. And through long years of common labours, conflicts, and sorrows the affection had grown deeper and stronger. And this was all the parting they had among hostile or indifferent strangers! A pressure of the hand, a hurried commendation to God, and the one is hurried away out of sight, and the other remains sorrowful and anxious.

‘About three, one of our men, quhom we sent to attend at the Counsel door, comes to us with teires, and schowes us that he was carried direct from the Counsel by water to the Tower. We followit with diligencey it could not meit with him by the way, neither could we get access to him by any means.’ Surely a more treacherous and unkingly act was never done than this which James did not scruple to commit. It is but the beginning of that arbitrary course which he had decided to adopt with regard to the eight ministers, his invited guests. On the sixth of May the seven ministers received letters, banishing each and all of them to various places in Scotland, all except Mr. James, who is ordered to repair with all convenient speed to Newcastle-on-Tyne, there to remain during the King’s pleasure. It was in vain that Mr. James begged to be allowed to stay in London to be near his uncle; his best friends counselled him to desist, lest both he and Mr. Andrew should be ‘worse sit.’

‘So convoyit with a guid number of most loveing and godly Bretherin to the Tower stairs, we tuk loiting the 2nd of July and devallit towards the ship with very sorrowful hairts because of him we left behind us in this danger, and of the scattering and dissipation of the mony guid Bretherin so firmly joyned togeddir in Christ his cause.’

FLORENCE MACCUNN.

ART. VII.—THE FORMER PROPRIETOR OF ABBOTS-FORD.

TOWARDS the close of last century and the commencement of the present there were three eminent ministers settled in parishes in the Border counties—Dr. Somerville of Jedburgh, Dr. Charters of Wilton, and Dr. Douglas of Galashiels—men who were in their day distinguished ornaments of the Church of Scotland. Dr. Somerville of Jedburgh adorned the ministerial office for the long period of sixty years; he was the friend and associate of many of the learned men of a learned age. If his histories of King William III. and Queen Anne are

now superseded by the more brilliant productions of Lord Macaulay and Earl Stanhope, they are still referred to as authorities, and his delightful autobiography, so well edited by the late Professor William Lee of Glasgow, introduces us to the great men of a past age, and gives a vivid description of the manners of a former generation. Dr. Charters of Wilton was a man of no ordinary abilities, and was justly regarded as one of the best preachers of that day. His sermons, now little known, rivalled those of Dr. Blair, and were regarded as models of pulpit eloquence; and in the opinion of Dr. Chalmers, no mean judge, if they had had more of the *sal evangelicum*, would have been almost perfect. The third, Dr. Douglas, was scarcely inferior to the other two in literary acquirements, and greatly their superior in energy of purpose. After the lapse of seventy years he is still spoken of in respectful terms, and it is freely acknowledged that it was greatly to his judgment and encouragement that the town of Galashiels owes its present prosperity as the centre of the woollen trade.

Dr. Douglas was the son of the manse; his father was the Rev. John Douglas, minister of Jedburgh, and his mother's name was Beatrice Ainslie. The Rev. John Douglas was not an unknown person, and had rather a curious history. He was ordained minister of Kenmore, in the Highlands of Perthshire, in 1743. During the troubles of the rebellion (1744-1746) he did his utmost to keep his parishioners loyal to the crown, and in consequence met with much hostility, since the Highlanders as a body were the partisans of Prince Charles. After the defeat at Culloden he interposed between the Government and those who were out in the rebellion, and by his influence, in consequence of his well-known loyalty, he saved the lives of many. The Government did not leave his services unrewarded, and in the year 1757 he was presented by the Crown to the parish of Jedburgh. Here, however, his troubles did not cease; Jedburgh was to him no bed of roses. There was much opposition to his settlement; the people had set their affections on the Rev. Thomas Boston of Oxnam, the son of the celebrated Boston of Ettrick, the author of *The Fourfold State*. A minister who had been presented withdrew on account of the

opposition of the people; but Mr. Douglas, in spite of that opposition, accepted the presentation. The reasons of his acceptance are on record; they were the smallness of the living of Kenmore, which was only £48, with a poor glebe, too little for the maintenance of himself and family, and the resolution of the Government not to present Mr. Boston. Mr. Douglas was settled in Jedburgh in 1758, but he had long to preach to empty benches, and to encounter hostile parishioners. 'The people of Jedburgh,' writes Principal Cunningham, 'resolved to abandon the walls of their old Abbey, and erect a meeting-house where they could hear the Gospel preached to them by the lips of a man whom they loved. By the month of December, 1757, their church was erected, and Boston, abandoning Oxnam, where he had only £90 a year, received £120 from the pious liberality of the people who rallied around him.'

Dr. Douglas was born in the manse of Kenmore on 17th July, 1747. We know nothing concerning his early life or at what University he received his literary and theological education, probably Aberdeen, as it was from that University that he received his degree of Doctor of Divinity. In the twenty-third year of his age he was presented by Hugh Scot of Gala to the church and parish of Galashiels, and was ordained by the Presbytery of Selkirk, by a singular coincidence, on his birthday, 17th July, 1770. In the Session records of that parish we have the following entry:—'Galashiels, July 17, 1770: Mr. Robert Douglas, son to the deceased Mr. John Douglas, late minister in Jedburgh, having past his previous trials before the Presbytery of Selkirk, was this day solemnly ordained in order to be minister of this parish.'

Among Dr. Douglas' numerous correspondents was Mrs. Cockburn, the gifted authoress of the 'Flowers of the Forest.' She was a daughter of Rutherford of Fairnalee, and one of the Doctor's parishioners. It was to him she wrote in 1777 that interesting letter contained in Lockhart's *Life of Sir Walter Scott*, in which the genius of Scott, then a boy of six, is first mentioned. 'She chanced,' observes Lockhart, 'to be writing next day to Dr. Douglas, the well known and much respected

minister of her native parish Galashiels.' The letter is curiously dated: 'Edinburgh, Saturday night, 15th of the gloomy month when the people of England hang and drown themselves.'*

In another of her letters to him, she writes from Edinburgh, under date 30th December 1786: 'The town is a [in] gog with the Ploughman Poet who receives adulation with native dignity and is the very figure of his profile, strong and coarse, but has a most enthusiastic heart of love. He has seen Duchess Gordon and all the gay world; his favourite for looks and manners is Bess Burnet (daughter of Lord Monboddie)—no bad judge indeed.' The 'Ploughman Poet,' it need hardly be added, was Burns, who at the time was being fêted in Edinburgh.

Dr. Douglas carried on correspondence with eminent leaders of the Church; and interesting letters are preserved written by Dr. Blair, Dr. Carlyle of Inveresk, and Professor Adam Ferguson. Dr. Hugh Blair was minister of the High Church, Edinburgh, Professor of Rhetoric in the University, and the author of those famous sermons, which, being highly recommended by Dr. Johnson, were in a former age generally read, and which still maintain their place on the shelves of every well furnished theological library. Dr. Alexander Carlyle, minister of Inveresk, known on account of his noble head and countenance as Jupiter Carlyle, was in his day one of the leaders of the Church of Scotland, and is still known as the author of a most interesting autobiography published fifty years after his death. Dr. Adam Ferguson was the Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh and the author of the *History of the Roman Republic*, which, notwithstanding all subsequent researches, is still regarded as an authority.

In 1783 Dr. Douglas first appeared as an author. The work which he published was in the form of a pamphlet of 108 pages entitled *Observations on the Nature of Oaths*. Its contention is that the number of oaths should be diminished; that all useless oaths are wrong and deteriorating to the moral character.

* *Life*, Vol. I., p. 87. Edit. 1837.

'Oaths,' he observes, 'about trifles fail to command attention and respect. Besides, though they retained their influence, the feelings of human nature are affronted when the sacred majesty of an oath is thus debased.' And he concludes the pamphlet with the following words: 'Let Britons reflect that nothing can more effectually destroy our impression of the living and true God and our fears of future vengeance than to multiply oaths, to demand and administer them without necessity, to evade by forced constructions their obvious meaning, or to persuade ourselves that some of them are mere forms and of no obligation.' Certainly Dr. Douglas is right, for all unnecessary oaths are sinful and wrong; they are at variance with that liberty which Christ confers on his people. Legislation has removed much of what Dr. Douglas complained. The writer of this paper, when presented to a parish had to take an oath that he renounced the Pretender, a most useless procedure as that unfortunate Prince had drunk himself to death more than eighty years before. Dr. Carlyle of Inveresk, in a letter to Dr. Douglas, thus adverts to this pamphlet on oaths: 'I advert to what you say about your pamphlet. But it has already gone to rest: and if Addison or Dean Swift were to return from the dead to write a criticism upon it, or even if Jem Rivington was to return from New York to puff it away by advertising at the rate of £5 per diem, it would be impossible to give it a resurrection. So the only thing you can do is totally to forget it.' Not a very flattering notice and advice to a disappointed author.

In 1783 Dr. Douglas made a journey on horseback through England by way of Newcastle and York to London and thence to Bath, returning by Carlisle, a very different mode of conveyance from our modern railways, on which, as Ruskin observes, we are conveyed like parcels booked from one station to another. An interesting record of this journey has been preserved in a series of letters to his mother.

On his return Dr. Douglas found himself engaged in a great controversy, now wholly forgotten but which then violently agitated the Church, on the election of a successor to Dr. Drysdale, the Principal Clerk of the Assembly. The Moderate

party, led by Dr. Blair and Dr. Carlyle, had some difficulty in fixing upon a candidate; but ultimately they selected Dr. Douglas. Dr. Carlyle, in a letter to him in 1788, thus announces the fact. 'You will be surprised to hear that the candidate fixed upon is yourself, as one of the strongest we could fight in the present circumstances. I have no time to be more explicit. But let me request your zealous assistance. When you write, direct for me at Mr. Tawse, Writer, Parliament Square, as I shall be much in town.' It does not appear, however, that Dr. Douglas accepted the honour, for his name was certainly not brought forward. Ultimately the candidates were Dr. Carlyle himself and Professor Dalziel. In the Assembly Dr. Carlyle was elected by a majority of three; but after a scrutiny, the result was that Dalziel was declared elected by a few votes.

In 1797 Dr. Douglas received the well merited degree of Doctor of Divinity from the University of Aberdeen. He had now obtained an influential position in the Church of Scotland. He was not only the respected minister of what was then a rural parish, but exercised a considerable influence in Church Courts. He carried on a correspondence with the leading men of the Church, many of whose letters still remain, and throw light upon the parties into which the Church was then divided. He belonged to what was then termed the Constitutional section, which would now be regarded as the extreme Moderate party. He did not, however, imitate them in the frigidity of their preaching: but was, as we have reason to believe, evangelical in his discourses. None of his sermons, however, remain.

In 1798 his great work was published. It is entitled: 'General View of the Agriculture of the Counties of Roxburgh and Selkirk, with observations on the means of their improvement, drawn up for the consideration of the Board of Agriculture and internal improvement.' The work, he informs us, was undertaken at the united request of Sir John Sinclair and of several gentlemen in both counties. It is a work of great merit and research, and although since that time the style of agriculture has been entirely revolutionised, yet it is most interest-

ing and instructive as showing how at the close of last century our fields were cultivated, what was the rotation of crops, and what manures were employed. He gives the price of provisions, showing the great rise which has taken place since then. A good hen was sold at 1/, a chicken at 5d, a goose at 2/6, pigeons at 2/ per dozen, and eggs from 5d. to 8d. per dozen. The population of the different parishes in the two counties are given. Thus in 1758 the population of the parish of Galashiels, which now contains 17,000 in the town alone, was only 998, whilst in 1790 it was reduced to 914: and, he observes, 'It is not a little remarkable that in the parishes of Ettrick and Yarrow, where a very small quantity of corn is raised, and where every kind of manufacture is altogether unknown, there are more inhabitants than there were forty years ago, whilst there are fewer in Galashiels, where there is a thriving manufacture.'

But that which procured for Dr. Douglas a lasting reputation, at least in his own neighbourhood, was his promotion of the woollen trade. He made Galashiels: when he came it was a small obscure village, when he died it was a thriving town. He freely lent his money, and insisted that the manufacturers should have the newest and the best machinery. It is said that not a piece of cloth left the town without his inspection and approval. In the building of a hall for the sale of the cloth, he generously advanced £1,200, and from time to time assisted the manufacturers with loans. It is to their honour that he was no loser by these grants, for under his fostering care trade flourished; but still, all honour is due to Dr. Douglas for his generosity and confidence, and for the encouragement which he gave to the trade of the town. It may fairly be asserted that, had it not been for these loans, the manufacturers would have found great difficulty in pushing their trade. After the conclusion of the continental war a wave of depression came over the country. Credit was shaken and failures were numerous. This was felt at Galashiels as elsewhere, and the manufacturers were thrown into pecuniary embarrassment. It was in this time of need that Dr. Douglas again came forward, and by his personal credit enabled them

to weather the storm, and thus proved himself not only to be their spiritual teacher, but their liberal benefactor in the time of commercial depression.

In 1811 the notable sale of Abbotsford was accomplished. How Dr. Douglas became possessor of this estate we do not know, as before coming to Galashiels he had no connection with the district, and could not have been in affluent circumstances. The price which Sir Walter paid was £4000. Lockhart in his biography thus records the transaction: 'The person from whom he bought it was an old friend of his own, whose sterling worth he venerated and whose humorous conversation rendered him a universal favourite among the gentry of the Forest—the late Rev. Dr. Robert Douglas, minister of Galashiels. Dr. Douglas had never resided on the property, and his efforts to embellish it had been devoted to the strip of firs, so long and so narrow that Scott likened it to a black hair-comb. It ran from the precincts of the homestead towards *Turn-again*, and has bequeathed the name of *the Doctor's red-ding-kame* to the mass of noble trees amidst which its dark straight line can now hardly be traced. The farm consisted of a rich meadow or haugh along the banks of the river, and about a hundred acres of undulating ground behind, all in a neglected state, undrained, wretchedly enclosed, much of it covered with nothing better than the native heath. The farmhouse itself was small and poor, with a common *kail-yard* on one flank, and a staring barn of the Doctor's erection on the other; while in front appeared a filthy pond covered with ducks and duckweed, from which the whole tenement had derived the unharmonious designation of *Clarty-Hole*.* It may be noticed that Lockhart, led astray by the similarity of sound, has made a mistake regarding the previous name of Abbotsford, which was not Clarty Hole, but Cartleyhole. Dr. Douglas was always on intimate terms with Sir Walter, and they frequently visited each other. He is the minister alluded to in *Paul's Letters to his Kinsfolk*, to whom Sir Walter, when travelling in 1815 in France, addressed a long letter—the

* *Life*. Vol. II., p. 358. Edit. 1837.

thirteenth of the series—containing an account of the religion of France.

In 1814 the new parish church of Galashiels was opened. It was several years before the heritors could be persuaded to put their hands into their pockets. As early as 16th March 1808 Dr. Douglas applied to the heritors. He represented that during the last two winters his congregation have made frequent and loud complaints of the church being cold, damp, and uncomfortable; that several entertained suspicions of its being unsafe, and that at any rate it was extremely inconvenient, both for the speaker and the hearers, from its length and narrowness, being 75 feet long and scarcely 18 feet wide, and he submitted to the heritors to take such measures for removing these complaints as to them should appear necessary. Accordingly an architect was appointed to examine the church. His report clearly showed that the church was dangerous, unhealthy, and totally unfit for divine service. It is as follows: 'That the front wall of the house, owing to the spurring of the roof, is considerably off the plumb, and all the other walls are more or less so, none of them are straight but bilged and twisted in many places, and much wasted and decayed; the rain evidently penetrated through the walls in almost every part, rendering the whole insufficient and dangerous. The floor of the church is twenty inches below the level of the church-yard, consequently the church is very damp. I could not get access to examine the roof, but from the appearance of the outside without doubt it also is much decayed, the timbers being considerably bent in and the surface unequal. If the floor was levelled equal with the surface without, the present windows would be far too low to give proper light to the house, and from the ruinous state of the walls it would be extremely dangerous to attempt slapping them with new ones.' This is an instance of what Principal Cunningham remarks concerning the state of parish churches at the end of last century. 'In some,' he observes, 'there were no seats; in very many the earthen floor sent agues and rheumatisms into the feet of the worshippers. Some are described as much more like sheds for cattle than temples consecrated to God. The

damp air which met the parishioner as he entered, was like the noxious atmosphere of a burial vault, or an underground cellar. In stormy weather the wind came whistling through the broken panes, the wet streamed through the unlathed walls, and penetrating the roof, dropped upon the floor.' Notwithstanding this damaging report, sufficient to condemn any church, the heritors did nothing for four years. Dr. Douglas had to apply for the intervention of the Presbytery, and at length after many delays the heritors came to the resolution that a new church should be built.

It was not in Galashiels only that the beneficent effects of Dr. Douglas' ministry were felt. Selkirk was then the capital of the county; Galashiels was but a village. It was by the labours of Dr. Douglas that the library in Selkirk was founded. This benefit was recognised by the people of Selkirk presenting him with his portrait painted by the eminent artist Raeburn. The original is in the possession of Dr. Douglas' grand-children, kept by them as a valuable heirloom, but two replicas were taken, one of which is in Selkirk, and the other adorns the Town Hall of Galashiels.

But years began to tell on the now venerable Doctor; his health commenced to fail; in 1818 he had a slight shock of paralysis. It was in this year that one who is still alive, and who is among the oldest communicants of the Church of Scotland, was admitted to church ordinances. She informed the writer that there was an unusual number of young communicants, the reason being that Dr. Douglas was too old and infirm to ask questions. They were brought into his presence by his daughter and their names mentioned, and the old man laid his hands on the head of each and gave them his blessing.

In 1819 the presentation of a cup was made to him by the manufacturer of Galashiels, in token of their gratitude for his help, and of the high esteem in which he was held. One of my elders, now an old man, told me that he was present on that occasion. He remembers the old man, almost blind, led by his two daughters, and brought to the head of the stairs, at the front door of the manse, where the presentation was made. The following is the account given by Mr. Craig Brown

in his interesting work on Selkirkshire. 'On Tuesday, 12th October 1819, the quiet precincts of the manse garden were invaded by a crowd which composed nearly all the inhabitants of the town in holiday attire. To honour the old laird of Abbotsford, the new laird had sent his piper, John of Skye, who marched at the head of the procession. After the people had taken up their position round the garden, so that each might see what was going on, the good old man was led out to the landing by his two daughters. Upon seeing how severe had been the ravages of time upon their pastor, whom they had beheld in the prime and vigour of his manhood, many burst into tears. When he felt the cup in his hand Dr. Douglas, no longer able to speak or see, lifted up his face, as if toward heaven, and those who were near could see the tears running down his cheeks. Neither could his daughters who stood behind him refrain; and there were few among the hundreds of spectators whose eyes were not dimmed. This touching ceremony over, the old man was led back to his house, the band playing 'Auld Langsyne,' and the people filed slowly out of the garden to resume the simple festivities of the day.' Mr. David Thomson, a manufacturer who had shared the Doctor's ready help, thus commemorates the occasion:

'Hail, reverend Doctor! Dearer still
Now, when thy light is all down hill.
There was a time, and not far gone,
When you stood forth, and stood alone;
When our frail bark was tempest-tost
And neared the shallow, rocky coast,
Thou cheer'd the crew. A fav'ring gale
Auspicious fills the swelling sail,
The vessel stands again to sea
And rides the waves triumphantly
So in the Autumn of thy days
Accept our gratitude and praise
To cheer thee in thy latter end
Our guard, our pastor, and our friend.'

In May 1819, Dr. Douglas appeared for the last time in the pulpit, when he delivered his farewell sermon. This affecting scene is thus described by one who was present. 'I was

present when the Doctor preached his farewell sermon to his flock, most of whom he had baptised, and shall never forget the scene. One of his daughters had been lately married to a neighbouring minister, and the old blind man was guided by them to his wonted place, after which the simple service began. The ordeal he bore with fortitude till he had to speak in his own person and to the occasion, when his voice failed him. He groped back over his subject, and fragments of his thoughts found their way into words; but repetitions and incoherences brought his children around him. Then he was borne back in their arms to his own familiar seat amid the tears and blessings of his flock; and the service was concluded by his son-in-law.'

At length the fatal hour drew near. Dr. Douglas continued to linger for more than a year after this; but life was not to him desirable; he was blind, he had lost the use of his limbs, his mind was somewhat impaired; his work was finished; he had nobly done his part in the great battle of life, and on the 15th November 1820 he died of paralysis in the seventy-third year of his age and the fiftieth of his ministry. He is buried in the old churchyard of Galashiels with no inscription on his tombstone, but the mere record of his ordination and death. 'In memory of Robert Douglas, D.D., for 50 years minister of Galashiels: ordained 19 July 1770; died 15 November 1820.' So be it; he requires no epitaph of his virtues; his works speak for him; and, as long as Galashiels continues the manufacturing town that it is, his name will be remembered as chief contributor to its prosperity and fame.

Little more need be said: it is hardly necessary to describe his character. Dr. Douglas was a man of eminent shrewdness and foresight. This is seen from the manner in which he promoted the interests of the town of Galashiels and fostered the woollen manufactures. With this was combined an unwonted generosity; he freely advanced money to promote the interests of his parishioners, and in the time of great mercantile depression he came forward as their surety. Many of the most prosperous manufacturers acknowledge that they owe the rise of their houses to his assistance and sage advice. He was a man

of great benevolence; and numerous instances could be mentioned of those whom he assisted and raised. Nor was he less distinguished for his tolerance and freedom from bigotry. He visited the houses of dissenters as well as those of his own people, and it is the written testimony of one of them, who describes himself as a Seceder of the strictest denomination, that Dr. Douglas never omitted to visit their humble cottage, and with his accustomed urbanity, would say: 'I know you do not belong to my congregation, but that is no reason why I should not come in and have a chat with you, ask how you are getting on, and see if I cannot be in any way useful to you.' Such was Dr. Douglas, at once the pastor and the father of his people; he has left a fragrant memory behind him and his works follow him long after he has gone to his rest.

Miss Arabella Douglas, the last survivor of the family, left a legacy of £500 in her will for the erection of a memorial window to her father in the new church of St. Paul's, Galashiels. The subject to be designed was the 'Good Samaritan,' suggestive of Dr. Douglas' philanthropy and benevolence of disposition. On the window is the following inscription, Luke x. 30-37; Matt. xxv. 40; Verily I say unto you, Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me. In memory of Robert Douglas, minister of Galashiels 1770-1820, erected by his daughter Arabella.

PATON J. GLOAG.

ART. VIII.—LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION IN IRELAND.

1. *Local Government and Taxation (Ireland) Inquiry.* Special Report of W. P. O'Brien, Esqr., Dublin, 1878.
2. *Local Government and Taxation of Towns (Ireland).* Report 20th July 1877, presented to the House of Commons.
3. *The County Councils Acts for England and Scotland*, 51, 52 Vict., Cap. 41; 52, 53 Vict., Cap. 50.

4. *Reports of the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland, and of the Royal Commission on Irish Public Works, 1887-90.*
5. *Reports of the Local Government Board of Ireland, 1887-90.*
6. *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the Poor Law Guardians (Ireland) Bill, London, 1885.*

MR. BALFOUR has announced that Local Government and Administration in Ireland is to be reformed, and a measure of this kind will probably be the chief effort of Parliament in 1892. The subject suggests the gravest reflections to those, who consider Irish affairs, from a point of view higher than that of party, and are true to the cause of well ordered liberty. The present condition of Ireland, it has been justly remarked, has a striking resemblance, in some respects, to that of old France before the great Revolution. In both instances we see an aristocracy in decay; a bureaucratic *regime* possessing its powers; a centralised government of large prerogatives apparently strong, but really weak; and a revolutionary spirit, fierce and lawless, spreading through a community, not trained to freedom, without experience in self-government, and naturally passionate and easily led by demagogues. Those who know how terrible were the results of the sudden decentralisation of power in France, from 1789 to 1791, and of the hasty concession of local franchises to a people unaccustomed to their use; how these were seen in the flames of plundered châteaux, in the uprising of a degraded peasantry, in pitiless oppression of the upper classes, in the triumph of Jacobinism, and in general anarchy, must feel misgivings lest similar gifts may be attended with like consequences when extended to a state of society analogous in many essential points; and the history of Ireland, during the last twelve years, will certainly not make the apprehension less. The experiment, however, will have to be tried, and that for two reasons which appear decisive. It is a mistake to suppose that the existing system of Local Government and Administration in Ireland is a scheme of mere oppression and wrong, as has been alleged by traders in faction; indeed, many of its anomalies may be ascribed to the lavish benevolence of the Imperial Government. It is, nevertheless, a faulty system: it is part of an order of things that

is passing away; it contains institutions that cannot be justified in the present age, and that are nearly worn out; it rest on a narrow and exclusive basis, and represents ideas that have become obsolete; it is out of harmony with popular feeling, and, indeed, is largely in conflict with it; and although its results have been less mischievous than partisans make them out to be, they have not been, on the whole, fortunate. The whole character again, of Local Government and Administration in England and Scotland, has been changed within the last three years, and now stands on a popular footing; and though there are many reasons why this precedent should not be slavishly applied to Ireland, its principle must be extended to her, if the local arrangements of the three countries are to be reasonably alike in their essential character, and to confer similar rights and privileges. With your permission I shall discuss the subject; and the time is certainly opportune in the extreme. Ireland, for the moment, enjoys repose; and though this is only a passing calm, and elements of disorder fill the sky, there is at least a lull in the angry tempest which threatened, but lately, to overturn society. The occasion, therefore, is most favourable to examine what is defective and bad in Local Government and Administration in Ireland; to consider how it can be improved, consistently with the maintenance of social order, and to carry out a wise and comprehensive scheme of reform. Perhaps I may add that I have some claim to speak with authority on this matter. I have been a Grand Juror and a Poor Law Guardian in an Irish county for more than forty years, and am, therefore, familiar with County Government in Ireland in its various details. As a County Court Judge I have had a large experience of Irish Municipal Government in some of its aspects, and a seat on an important Commission of 1869-70, compelled me to study the whole subject in its history and constitutional bearings.

So much confusion of thought exists respecting Ireland, at the present time, that I must, at the outset, draw a distinction which should be kept in sight by the general reader. By Local Government and Administration I mean that assemblage of powers and functions, essentially of a subordinate kind, which attaches only to specified areas and circumscriptions of a given county, and

does not pertain to National Government, though in every respect dependent on it. The sphere of Local Government and Administration is separated from the sphere of the State, though included within that larger sphere; it is an inferior part of a vast domain, strictly confined within its peculiar boundaries. Local Government and Administration, therefore, in the case of Ireland, has nothing to do with the great question of Irish Home Rule, which implies an Irish Parliament, more or less supreme, and an Irish Executive dependent on it, that is an Irish National Government; and on this subject I shall simply remark that, being as I am a strong Unionist, I am opposed to Home Rule, in every form, and to any arrangement that might conduce to it. The Union, no doubt, has not been a blessing to Ireland, in all respects; it has not fulfilled the ideal of Pitt; it has brought a series of ills in its train. The Irish legislation of the Imperial Parliament has produced many beneficent measures, but it exhibits several disastrous failures; the Executive, in the main English, supreme at the Castle, is disliked in Ireland; and if the country has made a great advance in material well-being since 1800, its social structure is still ill ordered, and the community is disaffected in its largest parts. Absenteeism has increased since the Union; the Irish landed gentry have lost their influence, and have been supplanted by a bureaucratic rule, with the numerous vices that belong to it; the people has been made the shuttlecock of alien factions; and though Protestant Ulster has become loyal, the Catholic South seethes with angry discontent. Yet, admitting all this, the Union, I think, is the only tolerable system of governing Ireland: the authority of the Imperial Parliament, and of the executive formed by it, is necessary to maintain society, in a land of passionate feuds of race and faith, and separated into hostile classes; and Home Rule, I believe, would lead in Ireland to a revolution of the very worst kind. For these reasons I equally condemn the statutory Parliament of Mr. Gladstone, and the Irish National Councils of Mr. Chamberlain; the first would cause civil war, and would subvert order; and the second, in the emphatic language of Burke, as he contemplated a like state of things in France, would produce 'anarchy out of parochial tyranny.' The scheme of Local Government and Administration,

which alone, I consider, would be safe in Ireland, is practically that put forward by Lord Hartington, in this matter, I think, our wisest statesman. It should not interfere with the National Government; it should have nothing to do with affairs of State; it should be administrative only, without legislative powers; it should be subordinate to the Imperial Parliament; and it should be closely restricted to purely local duties. If, too, it should have a popular basis, and be largely filled with popular elements, it should be representative of all classes; it should have ample powers within its proper sphere, but these should be so balanced that they could not become the means of assailing social order, or of attempts to destroy property; and it should be under the control of a central authority, at every point of its jurisdiction, to keep it within its prescribed limits.

The reform of Local Government and Administration in England and Scotland affords, I have said, a most cogent argument for a measure of an analogous kind in Ireland. Here, however, we should bear in mind the remark of Burke, 'the circumstances are what render every civil and political scheme, beneficial or noxious to mankind;' and in this matter there is a striking difference between the circumstances of the greater and the lesser island. From the very beginnings of her history, local institutions have prevailed in England, and have possessed considerable force and energy; indeed, her Constitution has partly grown out of the Township, the Saxon Burh, and the Parish. The Shire-motes, long after the Norman Conquest, still bore a resemblance to local Parliaments; and though the jurisdiction of these was gradually transferred to the Supreme Assembly that sat at Westminster, and to the Executive of the Plantagenet Kings, they retained much vitality in the Middle Ages. Soon after the Shire-mote had disappeared, and the County Court had become a name, the organisation of the English Counties, though in many respects no longer popular, was essentially of a local type, and formed a scheme of Local Government and Administration, controlled indeed by the Central Government at every point, but with large authority over local areas, and almost always in touch with local opinion. The Lord Lieutenant, the Sheriff, and the Justices of the Peace in each county were nominated by the

Crown, but were invariably selected from the local gentry; the Courts of Petty and Quarter Sessions practically did most of the work of the county: for example, ruled the County Police; and English County Government has always been fairly in harmony with the community on the spot. It is unnecessary to point out how County Government has been made popular in a great degree in England by the establishment of the County Council, but the effects of this change have not yet been marked, though probably they will be so in time; and English County Government still exhibits the well known character it has borne for centuries. If we pass from the shires to the towns of England, we find these in possession of local franchises and privileges from the earliest times; and they had grown in strength under the Saxon Monarchy. Municipal freedom and self-government were, however, mainly a gift from Norman Kings; as in the corresponding instance of France, they made use of the cities and towns as a counterpoise to the feudal nobles; and this policy was the origin of our urban liberties. London, York, Bristol, and many other towns, with their elective Mayors, their large corporate rights, their ruling burgesses, and their guilds of freemen, were centres of energetic life and industry during the Middle Ages; and though their freedom declined in the Tudor period, and under the rule of the first Stuarts, many played a great part in the Civil War, and they generally were on the side of the Houses. After the Revolution of 1688, municipal independence decayed in England; under the aristocratic *regime* which prevailed, many of the towns degenerated into close boroughs, the appanages of great county families, their governing bodies became narrow oligarchies, which wasted their lands and curtailed their rights, and as a large population, without franchises, had in numerous instances grown up in their midst, the privileges of their freemen seemed lost and destroyed. Yet the fine public buildings of many a city and town prove that municipal life was still active in England throughout the eighteenth century; and on several occasions the bold spirit of municipal freedom asserted itself, and made its influence felt on the seat of government. Through the Great Charter of Corporate Reform which passed into law half a century ago, municipal freedom and self-government have

renewed, so to speak, their growth in England, and have been developed into grand proportions ; and we see the results in the magnificent growth of most of our principal towns and cities, in their noble edifices, in their power in the state, in the energy and public spirit of their free citizens.

Local Government and Administration has, therefore, had a history in England of a thousand years, and it has always been more or less popular. This circumstance, coupled, it should be added, with the strong individuality of the Anglo-Saxon character, has had far-reaching and momentous consequences. It is not only that the English community has been trained for ages in self-government, and has acquired the instincts and tastes of freemen, as we see throughout the national annals. No country in Europe has a people which has accomplished so much by local effort and the energy of the private citizen, and which looks up so little to the State for help to carry out objects of human activity. This truth is written in plain characters on the face of the land, and of its towns and cities. The main roads of England are of Roman origin, and were her chief highways for many ages ; she had never anything like the Royal French *Chaussées*, and her lesser roads have been the work of the parish. The national harbours of England are few, but her commercial ports are a wonder of the world ; and her coasts are studded with minor havens, constructed or improved by the care of the neighbourhood. Her great drainage works of the seventeenth century, her noble canals of the eighteenth, her huge railway system of the present age, have all been products of private enterprise ; and it is unnecessary to say that her gigantic trade has been developed through this fruitful principle. So, too, the urban centres of English life have grown out of clusters of villages, running into each other in the course of time, owing little or nothing to the hand of the State, and formed upon no general plan, but becoming what they are through the unaided efforts of generations of industrious townsmen. This was the origin of Manchester, of Bristol, of Liverpool, and, above all, of the great world of London ; and even the most careless observer cannot fail to note the contrast which these colossal aggregates, with their irregular streets, their rows

of houses of all shapes, and of many dimensions, and alike only in their look of comfort, their fine public buildings and noble churches, exhibiting every kind of type, for the most part the work of local effort, present to the principal towns of France, and especially to her brilliant capital, in their symmetry, their orderly form and arrangements, showing everywhere the hand of central government. In the same way England has never possessed a great and general system of Public Works; and, with one large exception, the police force, which maintains order in town and country, is controlled and directed by local authority. She has never had a Colbert or a Napoleon to construct monuments of costly splendour, and to spread them over a submissive land; and such institutions as the *maréchaussée* and the functionaries of the Bourbon Monarchy, and of the Governments which have filled its place, who have trained a people to look up to Despotism, as a kind of Providence, to do the work of the Commune and the village, and to perform miracles, would be simply odious to the national sentiment.

I pass by the system of Local Government and Administration which has prevailed in Scotland; it has been much less free than the English system, and less rooted in the national life, but it has been placed at last on a popular basis. Turning to Ireland, we find a condition of things in marked contrast within this province with that of which I have traced the outlines. The native Irish tribes, like all Celts, seem never to have had the local institutions of self-government of the Teutonic races; they were ruled by their patriarchal chiefs and a priesthood; and, indeed, local franchises could not grow up in the primitive rudeness of Irish society. The towns built by the Danes in Ireland seem to have shown signs of municipal life, and local liberty was in some degree extended to the colonists of the English Pale; but Ireland, except a strip of Leinster, remained practically a Celtic land for centuries after the Roman conquest, and her septs and clans had no local franchises. When all the island had been made shireland, after a bloody period of war and conquest, a kind of system of local government was set up in the reign of James I., and the hand of Strafford may perhaps be traced in the county administration of Ireland in his time. The sword of

Cromwell, however, all but effaced these alien institutions of feeble growth; and Local Government and Administration was not established in Ireland, on a firm basis, until William III. had closed the era of conquest, two centuries ago, after the Boyne and Aghrim. Looking at County Government in the first instance, the scheme then devised may be briefly described as an image of English Local Government, confined in its privileges to conquering settlers, who already formed an exclusive caste, and imposed upon a subdued people, divided from their masters in race and faith, and separated from them by evil memories. The hierarchy which ruled the English Counties, ruled in Ireland under the same names; there were Irish Lord-Lieutenants and Sheriffs, and Justices of the Peace, selected by the Crown from the local gentry; and Irish Courts of Sessions administered the law in the same forms as their English prototypes. One local institution, however, grew up in Ireland, and acquired great and increasing power, which had nothing like it, in some respects, in England. Owing partly to the extreme backwardness of the Irish community in the eighteenth century, and partly to its wide social divisions, the Grand Juries of Ireland, always composed of landed gentlemen of the highest class, obtained by degrees, in each county, almost a complete control over local affairs; they appointed generally the county officers; they directed and managed the county police; the maintenance and repairs of public buildings, of roads and bridges, were entrusted to them; and they were absolute over the county finance, levying annually large sums for this purpose. If however, with a single exception, this system of Irish County Government apparently resembled that of England, it was completely different in its essential character. The authorities of the Irish counties were local magnates, as in the case of England; but they were a dominant order, cut off from the people, and wholly out of sympathy with it; and the Irish Grand Juries were, in a special way, an institution of a bad kind, for they possessed power over the local purse, and contrived to throw the mass of the local taxes on the tillers of the soil of the vanquished race, who had no voice in their exclusive councils. The whole system, in a word, was part and parcel of the harsh order of things, unhappily known as

Protestant Ascendency in Irish history. What wrongs it accomplished in the name of justice, and what iniquities co-existed with it, is proved in many documents of the time; and it should be added, that, save in a part of Ulster, where society was more happily composed, it prevailed generally throughout Ireland. Yet there was one good feature in this state of affairs, and this should not escape notice. The Irish landed gentry were a sectarian caste, placed over a people, almost of serfs; but they were an aristocracy which could rule; and they governed and administered the Irish counties with many faults and abuses, indeed, but so as always to maintain order and to command respect and obedience.

Protestant ascendancy was mitigated by degrees in Ireland, under the influences of the eighteenth century; and the improvement was felt in her county government. As the country, however, advanced in wealth, the power of the Grand Juries increased; and these bodies, free from all checks of opinion, became in too many instances, jobbing and corrupt, in the administration of the Irish counties. The reader of Miss Edgeworth's Irish novels will remember her account of these little oligarchies, sitting at the Assizes in their petty state, wasting local funds with reckless unthrift, and taxing a subject community without stint or scruple. After the Union, the attention of British statesmen was directed to Irish County Government; and the history of that system from this time forward has been that of the slow intrusion of a central and bureaucratic regime in the seats held by local authority, depriving it gradually of the substance of power, but leaving it the semblance of rank and privilege, and yet standing almost wholly aloof from the people. The hierarchy of the Irish counties was allowed to remain; and to this day every county possesses its Lord Lieutenant, its sheriff, its justices, appointed by the Crown, as they have always been, and holding office on the old conditions. But these fine names are little more than shadows; and County Government in Ireland depends almost wholly, at this time, on the 'Castle,' that is on the staff of the Central Government. The old county police have disappeared long ago, and have been replaced by a constabulary force, trained and disciplined like the regular army, and ruled from head quarters in Dublin; stipen-

diary magistrates nominated by the Crown, and largely endowed with special powers, do most of the work of the local justices; and the County Court Judges, experienced lawyers, and, of course, appointed like all judges on the responsibility of the Central Government, are practically supreme at Quarter Sessions, and administer all the higher local justice. The 'Castle' and its officials have thus succeeded the local landed gentry in County Government, and the change in the Grand Juries has been as decisive. These bodies are still composed of the chief men of each county, chosen by the Sheriffs, officers of the Crown, and not elective in any sense. They have still the charge of most of the public works of the different counties, which they had before; they have considerable control over the smaller towns; they still regulate the county finance; and they have a large new jurisdiction, under recent statutes, especially in voting compensation for malicious injuries. But the Central Government appoints their principal officers; their accounts are subject to a strict audit; they are checked and limited at every point on the exercise of their local functions; they have no choice but to 'present' for much of the monies they vote; an appeal lies from nearly everything they decide; and they can only levy indirectly local taxes, through the authority of a subordinate body. The Irish Grand Juries have, in fact, become, in some respects, little more than Boards carrying out the will of the supreme 'Castle,' and the authority they once possessed has been irrecoverably lost. But if the Central Government has engrossed their power, it has left them one of their worst prerogatives: the Grand Jury can still raise money circuitously from the occupiers of the soil, who have never been represented on it; and here the Central Government has made no popular change. The local magnates of the Irish counties, it should be added, are the descendants of the old ascendancy of conquest and sect which has never coalesced with the people, and the position they now hold is singularly like that of the noblesse of France before 1789.

The Irish system of County Government and Administration has thus a character very different from that of England and Scotland. It is of comparatively new origin; it was imposed by the sword on a conquered race; it long represented an ascendancy

of class, distinct in blood and creed from the people, and hostile at best from the nature of the case ; it now represents a bureaucratic rule which has supplanted the old ascendancy, but has left this the symbol of rank and privilege ; and it is in disaccord with Irish opinion. The system is not oppressive and cruel, but it combines the evils of a centralized regime with those of a weak, but unpopular, dominant class ; it is separated from the community at every point ; and the Grand Jury, especially a taxing body, chosen from the ' Castle,' and controlled by it, composed of an aristocratic caste, and without a single elective element, is an anomaly in a democratic age, and an institution which cannot be justified. I proceed to the cities and towns of Ireland, and to their Local Government and Administration. Municipal rights seem to have had no place in the usages of the Celtic races, and could not, indeed, have grown up in the petty villages of the Irish tribes ; and, as I have said, the first traces of them in Ireland appear in the towns built by the Danish invaders along the coasts. As in the case of England, the Norman ' Lords' of Ireland gave charters to many spots in the island which bore the titles of cities and towns ; but municipal life could not flourish in a land to a great extent a wilderness ; the Norman conquest, too, of Ireland, as a whole, was in the main a mere feudal fiction ; and, at this period, municipal franchises really existed only in the capital of the Pale, and in a few of its principal towns—Kilkenny was the most famous of these—and were strictly confined to the Anglo-Norman settlers. During nearly the whole of the sixteenth century, marked by the advance of Tudor conquest, Ireland was a scene of civil war and bloodshed, with confiscation following in its train ; and it is unnecessary to say that, in such an age, the few towns that survived could make no progress, and there could be no development of urban liberty. After Mountjoy, however, had sheathed his sword, James I. attempted to set up in Ireland a kind of form of municipal life ; he granted corporate charters and rights to a number of small and half-ruined hamlets and made them Parliamentary Boroughs ; but this was not in the general interest ; it was merely to secure in the Irish House of Commons a majority for the English colonists planted recently in the old territories of

the tribes. This system went very nearly to wreck in the era of strife and trouble that followed ; and as in the case of the Irish counties, so in that of the cities and towns of Ireland, Local Government and Administration really dates only from the reign of William III. At this time Dublin, and perhaps Cork, were almost the only towns in Ireland which deserved the dignified name of cities ; the other towns were mere fortified posts, or wretched assemblages of paltry streets ; and Ireland herself was a land of mourning, uncivilised, and the mere spoil of conquest. Municipal energy, freedom and power could not exist in this state of things ; and the towns and cities of Ireland had almost nothing in common with the great urban centres which flourished even in that age, in England. These collections, however, of squalid houses had, in numerous instances, large franchises, and returned members to the Irish Parliament ; and they became, accordingly, strongholds of the dominant race and of the aristocracy of conquest settled on the land, and supreme in the two Houses in Dublin. Municipal life, as we have seen, declined in England in the eighteenth century, but in Ireland it scarcely made a sign ; and the Irish corporations and borough towns became the mere instruments of the lords of the soil, subservient, feeble, and thoroughly corrupt. One feature of the system has yet to be noticed : the misgovernment which shut out the Irish Catholic from the pale of the law, of course excluded the native race from all rights in these spots ; and the cities and towns of Ireland, with their special privileges, their jobbing representatives, and their little ruling bodies, the dependents of neighbouring county families, who wasted their substance and mismanaged everything, were also the seats of an ascendancy of sect, tyrannical, harsh, and in all respects odious, which cast disgrace on the name of Protestant.

Order reigned in Ireland during the eighteenth century, and misgoverned as the country was, some of her cities and towns made decided progress. Dublin grew into a fine capital, Belfast began her brilliant career, and most of the seaport towns on the eastern coast thrived as their trade with Great Britain increased. The great majority of the inland towns remained however, little more than villages ; and they were still mere appanages of the

local gentry when the Irish Parliament came to an end. The Union deprived many corporate towns of the representation they had enjoyed, but in other respects there was little change; the municipal spirit could not exist in these petty aggregates of urban life; and soon after the great measure of 1829, which loosened the chains of Catholic Ireland, they remained subject to county magnates, and were governed by small oligarchies of sect, though in most instances a population of Catholics had long been settled in their midst. The great Corporate Reform which England obtained made it necessary for the Government of the day to think of a like reform for Ireland, and, from 1835 to 1839, several attempts were made to effect a change in the government and administration of Irish towns and cities, and to place it on a broader and less exclusive basis. But Protestant ascendancy had been shaken, and O'Connell had given Catholic Ireland power, a strong feeling existed that the concession of larger municipal rights to the towns of Ireland would endanger institutions and interests considered to be of extreme value; and instead of being reformed and remodelled, the franchises of five-sixths of the corporate towns and cities of Ireland were swept away, and eleven towns only were allowed to retain a municipal constitution of any kind. This measure was not so violent as it appeared to be, for, as I have said, municipal rights in most of the towns of Ireland were a mere shadow; and it was even attended with positive good, for it abolished a vexatious domination of creed, and it freed many towns from a slavish dependence. The corporate towns however, were now eleven only; their old privileges had been annulled, and the new privileges bestowed on them were of a very narrow and exclusive character, and wholly different from those of the same class in England. These cities and towns were given a Local Government and Administration of mayors and burgesses, elected by a vote of the citizens; but this vote was confined to a small class, no doubt from a fear lest Protestant rights might be attacked by Catholic masses; the municipal franchise was restricted to a petty minority in every instance; and the great body of the townsmen had no share in the management and control of their own towns. The corporate towns of Ireland, at the same time, were not allowed to exercise rights en-

joyed by towns of the same kind in England; for instance they had no police of their own, and they were interfered with by the Central Government, not so generally as the counties were, but far more so than in the case of English towns and cities. Some years after this measure of 'reform,' it had become apparent that municipal life in Ireland required a fresh stimulus; and in 1854 an Act was passed which enabled the lesser towns of Ireland to acquire certain municipal rights and privileges. There are now nearly a hundred of these towns, but in the case of these as of the corporate towns, the municipal franchise is restricted to a mere fraction of the population; the powers of the governing bodies are very weak, and are considerably checked by the Central Government. On the whole—in the case of all the municipal towns of Ireland, and many, I have said, of the smaller towns are still under the Grand Juries, and have no municipal rights whatever—it must be allowed that their Local Government and Administration rests on a narrow basis; their governing bodies are deprived of powers which they would possess under a more free system; and, except in the single instance of Belfast, which enjoys a wide municipal franchise, their inhabitants, taxed and rated as they are, have scarcely any voice in civic affairs, and are almost without municipal liberties.

The characteristics of the order of things of which I have briefly traced the history, may be described in a few words. Municipal life is not of Irish origin; it could not develop itself for centuries in a tribal land of incessant discord; and probably it could not, in any event, have been as vigorous as it has been in England. It has, however, been checked and stifled for ages; and to this day it has not received the encouragement and support of the State which it has received both in England and Scotland. As in the case of the Irish counties, so in that of the towns, Local Government and Administration has been a system that really dates from the Revolution of 1688; it could not acquire strength or become popular in the condition of Ireland during the eighteenth century; it was associated for a hundred and fifty years with an ascendancy of sect, exclusive and harsh, and with dependence upon an aristocratic caste; and it became oppressive, corrupt, and wasteful. The reform that

changed it was too destructive, though in some respects a beneficent measure; and for the last half century it has been a scheme extremely limited in its scope, conceding only restricted franchises, largely meddled with by the central government, arousing the jealousy of the mass of the people, and at no point founded on a broad basis. I shall next examine some institutions, either essentially of a local kind, or that are at least connected with local affairs. It is a striking proof of the gross indifference to the requirements of the humbler Irish classes which too long characterised our mode of Government, that it was not until less than sixty years ago that a Poor Law for Ireland was even thought of; and it was enacted only when two millions and a half, out of a population of scarcely eight millions, were a multitude of almost starving paupers. The Irish Poor Law of 1838 was modelled upon the new English Poor Law; and Poor Law legislation has proceeded since that time in the two countries, with some differences, on the same principles. Ireland was parcelled out into Poor Law Unions in most respects analogous to those of England; these were at first 130 in number, but they were increased to 163 during the terrible period of the Great Famine; and they are at present not less than 161. The Unions are governed by Boards of Guardians, almost exactly upon the English system; and the duties of these Boards were at first confined almost wholly to the relief of the poor; the work-house test, it may be remarked, being applied more stringently than is the case in England. By degrees, however, as in England, the Boards of Guardians have acquired large additional powers; they have a considerable discretion as to out-door relief; they have a wide jurisdiction under recent statutes, even in matters touching on county government; and, especially, they have complete control over the sanitary arrangements of the class of smaller towns, even though these may have municipal rights. The constitution and character of the Boards of Guardians in Ireland must be shortly noticed. Each Board, as in England, is composed of *ex-officio* and elected Guardians; the first, as in England, being local magistrates, and, as a rule, the *ex-officio* Guardians form nominally half of the complete body. Owing, however, partly to absenteeism, the worst vice of social

life in Ireland, and partly to the disorder of the last twelve years, the *ex-officio* Guardians in most Unions attend the Board only in a few instances, and usually are in a small minority; and this institution has altogether failed to protect landed property, which in Ireland is subject to fully five-eighths of the Poor Rate, the opposite having been the case in England, and this, too, though the *ex-officio* Guardians in Ireland have a right to vote by proxy. As to the elected Guardians, they are, for the most part, substantial farmers; they are elected by the whole ratepaying body; but they are elected through a cumulative vote, which, in theory, gives much weight to landlords. But this check, too, has proved almost useless; the elected Guardians not only form an overwhelming majority in most Boards, but in most Unions, if we except a part of Ulster, are Nationalists of a distinct type, and have exhibited the tendencies known as Nationalistic. It should be added that the Central Government has absolute control over the Irish Boards of Guardians, and has lately discharged them in more than one instance.

I now come to the institutions, to which I have before adverted, as related to local affairs in Ireland. The Irish Parliament always showed a tendency to encourage Public Works on a large scale; it planted the capital with fine buildings; it constructed two important canals; and it promoted inland navigation in several parts of Ireland. This system was adopted by the Imperial Parliament; and since the Union very large sums have been expended on Public Works in Ireland, Royal Harbours, the improvement of great rivers, inland navigation, arterial drainage, and other works of a similar character. The State, too, has made immense advances for local objects in the public interest, such as county edifices, roads, and bridges; it has also aided the erection of labourers' cottages by the Board of Guardians under recent statutes; and it has lent millions to private owners of land, and even of late years to tenants in Ireland, under the Acts that provide for Land Improvement. These arrangements have been very much more liberal than the corresponding system in England and Scotland; and, though they are open to much criticism, they at least attest the generosity of the State, and the excellent intentions of a succession of statesmen. Since 1817

the enormous sum of £38,000,000, in round numbers, has been laid out in Public Works in Ireland, and of this, £8,000,000 have been a free gift, a concession without parallel in England or Scotland. The system, however, has the defect common to so much that we find in Ireland, it is bureaucratic in its nature and aspect; it has had too much regard to the interests of class, and it is not, at any point, in touch with the people. Public Works in Ireland are under the control of a Board nominated by the Castle, and largely dependent upon the Treasury. The Board, hitherto, has been an agency in many respects for Irish landlords, and it is wholly without a popular element, though, as it owes its being and its support to the State, it is in the nature of things, and just, that it should be mainly in the hands of the Central Government. I pass on to an institution of much more importance than Public Works, for it concerns the moral and intellectual state of the great mass of the people of Ireland. I have no space to repeat the dreary tale of Primary Education in Ireland in the past; it must suffice to say that it embodies much of what was worst in Irish Government in the last century. Nor can I touch on higher education in Ireland except to express my distinct belief that Catholic Ireland, in this matter, has still a real and no trifling grievance. The system of Primary Education that now exists in Ireland was established about sixty years ago, and it was based on what seemed to be a liberal principle. It aimed at uniting the growing youth of Ireland and yet at securing purity of faith, and with this object it was provided that secular education should be afforded to children together in the same schools, and that religious education should be strictly separate. The State undertook nearly the whole charge of the system of education formed in this way; it has spent enormous sums for this purpose, and the attendance at the schools is very large, the parents of the children paying almost nothing. Yet the National System of Education, as it is called, is disliked in Ireland to a great extent, and certainly has not touched the hearts of the people. The principle on which it was founded has been long abandoned; it could not succeed in a land torn by feuds of sect, and amidst a community which is, in a special way, religious; and in most

parts of Ireland the National Schools have been denominational for many years, that is, the pupils belong to different faiths, and the intermixture of creeds is not common. The denominational character of the schools, however, is neutralised by a strict conscience clause; the distinctive tenets of any creed form no part of the general school teaching. However Catholic a school may be, it cannot contain a Catholic emblem; however Protestant may be the scholars, they cannot be lectured, say, on the Bible. This is out of harmony with Irish feeling; and munificent as the State has been, this system of education is not popular. The National School teachers, it should be added, receive very inadequate stipends, and the Training Colleges do not obtain sufficient support.

Let us next see how the entire system, the features of which I have tried to sketch, works in Ireland at the present time, what has been its character, and what its fruits, and what associations have been connected with it. Taking County Government, in the first instance, the Grand Juries, beyond question, perform, on the whole, their duties well; they are intelligent and efficient local bodies. The petty towns under their care, indeed, are the most squalid to be found in Ireland; they sometimes betray the prejudices of class; their decisions as to malicious injuries are not always just. But they have long been free from corruption and jobbing, their officers as a rule are excellent, their direction of county affairs is good; the public buildings, bridges, and roads, they manage are usually in the best order. The institution, however, is an embodiment of the ascendancy of a class in decline and of the bureaucratic rule of the Castle; it is a specimen of taxation without representation, it is disliked in Ireland, and it has had its day. As to the towns of Ireland, the administration of these with honourable, and even large exceptions, has been less successful than that of the counties. Apart from the attitude of many to the State, on which I shall say a word afterwards, their governing bodies are too frequently composed of members not made fitted by wealth, position, or skill in business, to have the conduct of urban affairs; and, in the case of most of the smaller towns, an independent and strong middle-class, one of the best elements of social life in England and

Scotland, is, for the most part, wanting; and this has caused numerous and far-reaching mischiefs. Mismanagement and waste have been a common result; and yet these are not, perhaps, the worst characteristics of the government of towns in large parts of Ireland. Irish municipal life is still very feeble; it is without activity or vigorous strength. Irish municipal bodies have usually shown a tendency to look to the State for everything, and to expect the State to do what is their work; and they have too, generally neglected what is essential to the well-being of the more humble classes. It is difficult, in the case of many towns in Ireland, to get the townsmen to listen to schemes of improvement; they are listless, and seem not to think of progress. The Corporations and Town Commissioners throw everything on the Central Government; above all, in the lanes of wretched houses, in the absence of a proper supply of water, in the bad sewerage, in the large death-rate, and in the look of raggedness and want, which are marked features of most Irish towns, we see a disregard of the poorer community. All this, no doubt, may be partly ascribed to the unhappy history of Ireland in the past, and to her comparative poverty even at this hour; it may also be in part traced to peculiarities of Celtic nature, unlike the Teutonic in self-reliance, and in the individuality which has achieved so much; but certainly it has been largely caused by the absence of a strong popular element in the administration of the towns of Ireland; for municipal life, all experience shows, cannot flourish under a system of narrow privilege and restricted franchises; and if the poor have no rights they are doomed to misery. Brilliant exceptions are to be found, I have said; but the management of too many of the Irish towns is made evident in their external aspect. Several have fine public edifices and streets of lofty houses, but the grandeur of these is often slatternly. In no part of the United Kingdom are the dwellings of the middle-classes so bad, and the quarters of the poor—still commonly known as the ‘Irish towns’ of the days of the ascendancy—are often pitiable scenes of misery.

The administration of the Irish Unions, until ten or twelve years ago, has been, I think, on the whole efficient. In one respect, however, it has not been good; a Board of Guardians

ought not to be the sanitary authority of a municipal town; this partition of powers has led to confusion, to the clashing of rights, and to the evasion of duties; and the sanitary condition of the lesser towns of Ireland is, as a general rule, disgraceful. During the period of disorder, only just quelled, which since 1879 has afflicted Ireland, many Unions have been most grossly mismanaged; there has been waste, and reckless and illegal expenditure, and the increase of the Poor Rate has been alarming; but in almost all instances this has been due to the political conduct of Boards of Guardians, on which I shall briefly comment hereafter. I do not concur in the censure lavished on the heads of the Board of Irish Public Works; they have always been very able men, their staff is well trained and experienced; and, in my judgment, an institution of the kind is essential to the material progress of Ireland—a poor country in which the State must largely contribute to private enterprise, and must occasionally stand in its place—and it must be mainly an agency of the central government. But the Board labours under the disadvantage inseparable from an authority of the kind, almost unassisted by local effort, and depending upon its officials in Dublin; the information it obtains is often incorrect, it is cumbrous and slow in its operations, and some of its works have been costly failures. The Public Works of Ireland are too often rather showy and expensive than well planned; they have a kind of resemblance to the Public Works of France, and are not like works of the same class in England, and some, especially those of drainage and navigation, have been unfortunate. The Board, too, is not liked in Ireland, for it is an appendage of the half-foreign Castle; and there is no reason why, to some extent, it should not possess a popular element, and be more than it is in touch with the people. As for the National Schools, they look well on paper, and I am far from denying they have done good; but the education they afford is poor and shallow; they are not suited to a religious race; and it is a most significant fact that National School teachers have been deeply imbued with the perilous doctrines, revolutionary, socialistic, and hostile to the State, which of late years have had such favour in Ireland. So much for the working of Local Government and Administration in Ireland, as a

system; but an enquiry into it will be of little use, if attention were not fully directed to a train of circumstances connected with it, which have in large parts of it a type and complexion to be kept in sight by every wise reformer. The Grand Juries are not an elective body, and, composed as they are of the higher gentry, they are naturally Conservative and law abiding. But outside part of Ulster, and, it may be said, in five-sixths of the Southern Provinces, every elective body is ill affected to the State; is dissatisfied with the existing order of things; is not heartily on the side of Law; nay, demands violent and widespread changes; and this, though it can scarcely be said to have a popular basis in any instance. The Lord Mayor of Dublin has no dealings with the representative of Queen Victoria; Cork openly parades the name of 'rebel;' the Corporation of Limerick a few years ago would not pay a lawfully imposed tax; three-fourths of the municipal bodies of Ireland are adherents of the National League, and of its anarchic and socialistic doctrines. The same tendency is seen in the Boards of Guardians in large parts of Leinster, of Connaught, of Munster; the elected Guardians have abused their trust, and wasted the rates, in many cases, in order to injure and despoil landlords; they have sometimes practically driven away the *ex-officio* Guardians from the Boards; they boast of their hatred of the landed gentry; and they have made the Board rooms, in dozens of instances, spouting clubs of wild revolutionary talk, disloyal, and subversive of Law and Property. This state of opinion, no doubt, may be ascribed, in a great measure, to events in Ireland in the past; De Tocqueville has remarked, with perfect truth, that Jacobinism can usually be traced to wrong; but statesmen are bound to deal with facts, and, in considering the important question of Irish Local Government and Administration, they must take note of this evil spirit, fierce, lawless, destructive, and the foe of order, a spirit, too, which, to some extent, is due to essential defects in Celtic nature, weak and prone to submission perhaps for ages, and then suddenly vehement, and easily swayed by demagogues.

The question, then, for the reformer is how to place the system of Local Government and Administration, which we find in Ireland, exclusive, ill-designed, and narrow as it is, upon a sound

and more popular basis, in harmony with the ideas of the age, and with the existing facts of Irish social life, and yet to preserve order, to maintain property, and not to give scope and force to the Jacobin spirit at present let loose through the Irish community. I offer my suggestions for what they may be worth, and as they are the result of some reflection and of long experience, I venture to hope they deserve attention. At the outset, I would remark that I would make but slight changes in the existing areas of Local Government; the example of France, in 1789-90, shows how dangerous in this matter it is to depart from established usages; and I believe in the aphorism of Burke, 'a disposition to preserve, and an ability to improve, taken together, would be my standard of a statesman.' Taking the counties then, as a first unit, I would deprive the Grand Jury in every Irish county of its present administrative and fiscal powers, confining it to the jurisdiction which it has in England, and cutting off what is an excrescence only; and I would transfer its powers, with a single exception, that of presenting for malicious injuries, to a popular elective Assembly, giving this too, large additional powers to be briefly set forth hereafter. This body, as in the cases of England and Scotland, ought to be designated as the County Council; and the first question is as to its constitution. Its members should be chosen for the districts they would represent, by all the ratepayers, without exception; but, as the majority of them would be mere peasants—in nine-tenths of the counties at least—and it is imperative in Ireland to protect property, and especially the rights of the landed gentry, I would avail myself here of the cumulative vote, according to a proportion fixed by law; and John Stuart Mill, it may be observed, approves of this precaution, even in English Local Government. The members to be elected, on the County Council, should have the qualifications prescribed in England; that is, voters should have a free scope to choose; but, in the existing state of Ireland, I would certainly place on every County Council, a specified number of men of substance—say from £400 a year upwards—to be elected, separately, but by an unrestricted vote in order specially to represent property, and to form a conservative element on the County Council. That Assembly, organized

in this way, would be a representative body, in the fullest sense, at once popular, and yet planned to uphold order, and what was established; and the next question would be as to its rights and privileges. Except only the deciding on malicious injuries, and on the compensation to be bestowed for them, which being evidently a judicial function, ought to belong to the County Court Judge, I would give it, I have said, the whole series of administrative and fiscal powers at present possessed by the Grand Jury; and, subject to the control of the Central Government, it should therefore have in every county the management and care of public buildings, of bridges, roads, and similar works, with full power to impose local rates, and to borrow, when required, for these purposes. It should, also, have a right to appoint its officers and the official staff of which it would stand in need to carry out its administrative work; and, of course, it would have an inherent right to nominate and elect its chairman and the committees it would tell off to do various duties. The County Council, however, as I have said, ought to be invested with more ample powers than those transferred from the Grand Jury; though I would limit its jurisdiction to those towns only which did not rise above the rank of villages. It should have a right to receive evidence on private and local bills of all kinds, and thus to get rid of a real grievance and of a source of vexatious expense; and its reports, in this matter, if confirmed by the authority of the Central Government, ought to have the efficacy of a private Act of Parliament, of course, when put in the form of a law. The County Council besides ought to have a right, if this were the wish of the ratepayers on the spot, to set up local Boards for arterial drainage, and local Boards to promote sea-fisheries, subject to the approval of the Board of Public Works, as the agency of the Central Government, a distinct improvement on the existing system; and it ought to be able, under certain conditions, to establish the system of education of a primary kind in local areas, which the majority of the ratepayers, reckoned by their different communions, deemed most acceptable.

A County Council, under these arrangements, might obviously have to deal with matters extending beyond its natural area. A private bill might embrace lands comprised in a succession of

counties; and the same may be said of a river basin to be made a subject for arterial drainage. Yet, in my judgment, that is no reason for establishing Provincial or larger Councils. The objections to these seem to me decisive, and a solution of this difficulty is I think evident. When a County Council would have to take cognizance of questions outside the sphere of the County, these should be referred to, discussed, and settled by committees chosen from all the Councils of the Counties in any way affected; and a vote of the majority of these ought to be conclusive. I pass on to the cities and towns of Ireland and to the reform in municipal government and administration which I venture to propose. The governing bodies of Irish towns are elective and in a sense popular; I would make no extraordinary change in these; and they ought to retain their present names as Mayors and Burgesses, or as Town Commissioners. They should be elected, however, on a principle wholly different from that which is now in force; and they ought not to be, as they are now, chosen by a mere fraction of the urban communities. It is, I have said, a disgrace and a peril, that, in the case of the municipal towns of Ireland, the voices of the townspeople have scarcely any power in the management and control of affairs; this is one main cause of the listless languor we find in Irish municipal life, and of the tendency of the towns to look to the State for everything; but above all it is a main cause of the scandalous neglect we too commonly see in Irish towns in arrangements for the poor. The municipal franchise should be set free from the narrow restrictions which now confine it; and, as in the cases of England and Scotland, it should be extended to all the rate-paying householders. Here, however, as in the case of the counties, I would take the security of the cumulative vote; and I would place on the governing bodies, a proportion of members, whose fortunes would give them a plain interest, to represent and to guard property, yet who would be elected by a popular vote. As far as possible the towns of Ireland should be encouraged to seek municipal rights, though they could not, of course, be forced on them; and, as I have said, the Grand Jury should have a jurisdiction over villages only, and, in no instance, over a town, now, or hereafter, possessing municipal rank. The rights and

duties of the governing bodies would be much the same as they are at present; subject to the control of the Central Government they should administer urban affairs, and should have a right to tax for the purpose, but they should have their borrowing powers enlarged, and their taxing powers, for the same reason, in order to make up for a long arrear of public work which should have been done, especially for the behoof of the poor; and they should be the sanitary authority, sole, and absolute, of every town, however small, they might rule, the Board of Guardians being wholly excluded.

The changes I advocate in the Government and Administration of towns in Ireland, seem, at first sight, not to be extensive. But they shift the whole structure of municipal rights from a mischievously narrow to a broad foundation; and the full enlargement of the municipal franchise would, I hope, quicken municipal life, give the people in the towns the interest in them, which would make them lean on the State less, and, above all, would improve the condition of the poor. As for the Unions of Ireland, it is, at least, a question whether their number is not very much too great. This estimate was made during the Famine period, when the mass of pauperism was enormous, and twenty or thirty Unions might be suppressed, and their buildings transferred to the County Councils. As for the constitution of the Boards of Guardians, it ought, I think, to be considerably changed; it has failed to protect the rights of property, and property which, I have said, pays the greater part of the Irish Poor Rate, is powerless on the Boards in more than half the country. The Boards of Guardians should, I believe, be elective as to the whole of their numbers, for the *ex-officio* system has broken down in most Unions in the Southern Provinces; and, as in the case of the County Councils, I would seat on the Boards a certain number of wealthy ratepayers to uphold property, these being elected by a special vote; and I would do away with the *ex-officio* Guardians, an institution in itself unpopular and unsuccessful from many points of view. I confess, however, I would go further in this matter to secure property. As the law now stands, the occupier of the soil in Ireland has not to pay the Poor Rate, if rated at only £4 or less, and this exemption

deprives him of all interest in economy and keeping down the rates, and throws a heavy burden on the landed gentry. I would abolish this bad and unwise distinction, and would compel every possessor of land, however low his rating, to pay Poor Rate. This would be simple equity, for every Irish peasant has been made a joint owner of his farm; and this would relieve property from an unjust charge, and, what is more important, would give the whole mass of the ratepayers a direct inducement to resist the mismanagement and the attacks on property, too frequent at present in many Unions. As regards the duties of the Boards of Guardians, they should be the same as they are now, except that, as I have said, a Board should cease to do the sanitary work of a municipal town; and the reform, I propose, would alike place Poor Law Administration on a wider basis, and, I hope, would check the socialistic and reckless tendencies exhibited by the Boards in a large part of Ireland. With respect to the Board of Public Works, it must remain, I have said, an agency, for the most part, of the Central Government. The State, in the existing condition of Ireland, must supply most of the funds for Public Works, and must be supreme in this department; but the Board, I have urged, might in some respects co-operate with the County Councils; and I would reinforce it with one member at least, elected by a vote of these bodies, and would thus give it a popular element. In a country like Ireland, torn by sectarian feuds and a strife of classes, it may be that, in the general interest, the State ought to retain the system of primary education now in existence, and should insist on a conscience clause in every primary school, denominational though it was in type; but this system, I contend, is not liked in Ireland, and it cannot, I think, be deemed to have been successful. I venture to suggest an alternative scheme more in harmony with Irish ideas and needs, but subordinate to the larger system, and made subject to a severe test, to prove if it fell in with Irish opinion. If the ratepayers of any communion wished, in a school district, to have a school denominational in all respects, that is purely Protestant or purely Catholic, the County Council within its jurisdiction should have power to establish a school of the kind, subject to the approval of the Central Government. The ratepayers, however, in such a

case, should be prepared to contribute a fixed School Rate, though the State should, of course, make a contribution from the funds allotted to the 'National' schools; and, notwithstanding this stringent check, the purely denominational schools would, I believe, be numerous. Meanwhile, the Training Colleges for the National Schools ought to be more liberally maintained than they are, and the pay of the National School teachers should be increased.

I have at last reached a most important subject, the authority of the Central Government, in the scheme of Local Government and Administration, of which I have tried to set forth the outcome. It would be imperative, I think, that in principle the Central Government should, through its agencies, have a similar control over the local bodies, of which I have described the functions, to that which it possesses at present, though this need not be exactly the same. The Local Government Board ought to have a right to audit the accounts of the County Councils, of the municipal towns, and of the Board of Guardians, a right which belongs to it now; it should also exercise a control over their borrowing powers and their expenditure, and it should be able to give them advice and assistance. Strict precautions, too, would have to be taken that the local bodies should not encroach on the recognised domain of the Central Government; and this, I have said, must always have, in a country like Ireland, a large sphere of action, and, occasionally, the initiative in local matters. Where, as in Ireland, jails, court-houses, and bridges, are, to a great extent, constructed by funds advanced from the State, the Central Government must have considerable control over the County Councils; the same must be the case with the towns, for the circumstances are precisely similar, and the Irish Board of Works and National Education Board must direct three-fourths of all that belongs to Public Works and to Primary Schools, for they represent the State, which in this matter has made a free gift of millions of money, and is still, in the highest degree, generous. These obvious reservations having been made, Local Government and Administration in Ireland should, nevertheless, be as free as possible consistently with the general interest, and especially with the just rights of property, and with the reason-

able control of the Central Government, and I would certainly endeavour to render this more popular than it is now, and to make it representative in this province of something besides the bureaucratic Castle. As in the case of the Board of Public Works, I would give seats on the Local Government Board, on the Education Board, and on boards of the kind, to members chosen by the County Councils, and in this way I would infuse an element 'racy of the soil' into the agencies of the State. A grave, practical question remains: how the Central Government is to make its power felt, and to enforce control over Irish local bodies. The machinery to effect this is cumbrous, and, in part, obsolete, at least in a great number of possible instances. I would not interfere in this matter with the functions of the Local Government Board, or with those of the Irish Privy Council, for these have been very well exercised. But legal questions, within a certain limit, relating to the powers of the County Councils, of the municipal towns, and of the Boards of Guardians, should be made referable to the County Court Judges, subject to the ordinary right of appeal; and, beyond this limit, they should be dealt with, in a summary way, by the Superior Courts. This reform would keep local bodies within their spheres, and would effectually check all kinds of abuses, and it would greatly strengthen the Central Government. I incline, too, to think that, in the present state of Ireland, the State ought to possess a right to suspend or abolish any local body persistently violating its trust, or the law; but the decision as to forfeiture or suspension, should not belong to the Executive Government; it should be committed to the highest court in Ireland, and with an appeal to the House of Lords.

It will be observed that, in these suggestions, I leave parts of the existing system of Irish Local Government and Administration untouched. I do not profess to make a change in the old organisation of County Government, the Lord-Lieutenant, the Sheriff, and the local justices; and the stipendiary magistrates and county court judges would continue to be appointed by the Central Government. In the first place, every one of these offices ought, under a well-planned order of things, be at the disposal of the Executive; and in the next, though the ancient

powers of the local gentry of Ireland are little more than names, they are still prized as badges of honour, and it is very important to retain them as they are, in order to encourage local residence, and not further to disparage an order of men unjustly treated for a series of years. Above all, I would leave the constabulary force of Ireland as it is now established, that is, in the hands of the Central Government, and in this matter a broad line of distinction must be drawn between England or Scotland and Ireland owing to the condition of Irish society. In a land torn by a strife of class and faith, the State must have a strong, armed body at its bidding to keep the public peace; it is all very well for National League members to pretend that the police in Ireland exist to uphold the 'extortions of landlords;' they are maintained to prevent riotous outrage, and, at this moment, their chief duty is to protect the followers of Mr. Parnell and of Mr. Healy when they fly at each other at patriotic meetings. The reason which is the best argument for the Union and the complete supremacy of the Imperial Parliament in Irish affairs, is that for keeping the Irish Constabulary as it is; and Mr. Balfour, I rejoice to see, has spoken on this subject with no uncertain voice. I have thus endeavoured briefly to describe Local Government and Administration as it exists in Ireland, and to point out all that is defective in it; and I have proposed, in general terms, a scheme of reform which I believe would meet the requirements of the case. My suggestions, no doubt, will not receive the approbation of Mr. Gladstone's party, and they will be ridiculed by the hostile factions of Mr. Parnell and Mr. Dillon, which, if they agree in nothing else, mean by Irish 'Nationalism' an independent Ireland, completely disenthralled from the Imperial Parliament, and really a separate Sovereign State. But within the limits I have laid down for myself, they remove all that is bad and obsolete in Local Government and Administration in Ireland; they place the whole system on a popular basis, representative of all classes and interests; they give large powers to the Central Government, but deprive its regime, in local matters, of an exclusive and bureaucratic character; and I am convinced they satisfy the demands of justice. Under the scheme which I have briefly set forth, I should hope to see County Government much

improved; municipal life become less feeble; the administration of towns much better than it is, especially in the interests of the poor; the Poor Law system, that of Public Works, and that of Primary Education, on a sounder footing; more co-operation between divided classes; and, though too much is not to be expected here, a gradual drawing together of the sundered elements of Irish society under the influence of common work, and widely extended franchises. The plan I propose may seem too narrow even to those who only seek to reform Local Government and Administration in Ireland; it may be thought to betray mistrust of the Irish people; but it is impossible to forget the present state of the country, and not to take account of the Jacobin spirit, wild, socialistic, lawless, destructive, which pervades large parts of the Irish community. To such critics I shall only reply: Read the profound chapter in which De Tocqueville shows how sudden concessions, unwisely made, trained the French people to revolution, when the state of society that prevailed in France resembled that of Ireland at the present moment.

WILLIAM O'CONNOR MORRIS.

ART. IX.—SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN REVIEWS.

GERMANY.

DEUTSCHE RUNDSCHAU (July, August, September).—Going back to the first of these three numbers, the contribution most likely to interest the general reader is the anonymous letter on Saint-Just. It shows but little sympathy with him, as may be gathered from the following passage: 'Complete indifference with regard to the life or death of others presents itself as the most conspicuous feature of his "heroism." That, indeed, is its characteristic. The capacity ruthlessly to carry out what is considered necessary must be *acquired*, if it is to be looked upon as the quality of a statesman; he who possesses it already is a Barbarian, be he who he may. What Saint-Just's contemporaries looked upon as a proof of his "antique greatness," has been recognised and condemned by history as mere cruelty.'—In a communication which runs through two numbers, Dr. Walther Vulpinus edits the album of August von Goethe; that is to say,

he gives a number of more or less interesting entries in it, and strings them together with a few words of commentary.—Herr Otto Seeck continues through two further numbers the paper entitled 'Zeitphrasen,' which was begun last quarter. It is a rather mixed medley of dissertations on the subject of art, specialism, and museums, and, altogether, rather heavy reading.—In the August part a conspicuous place is given to the address delivered at Leipzig, by Professor Wundt, on the occasion of the anniversary of the birth of King Albert of Saxony. The subject is 'The Relation of the Individual to the Community.'—An article of some importance is that entitled: 'Die Et appenstasse von England nach Indien über Canada.' In summing up the result of his study the author says, 'Very quietly England has constructed the great Canadian railway, connecting the Atlantic and the Pacific, set up the electric wires by the side of it, and thus opened up a new high road (Weltlinie), which is to help her to begin a new epoch in her commercial supremacy, to form and to defend a greater Britain. . . . As regards time—an important military factor—the advantage secured by the construction of the Canadian line is as follows: Whilst Hong-Kong can be reached just as quickly via Canada as by the Suez Canal route, the journey to Japan and China is considerably shortened, a circumstance which, in the event of complications in the East, might produce decisive results. Neither the route by way of San Francisco nor that across the American isthmus can compete with the Canadian line.'—Not including continuations of articles begun in former numbers—such as 'Zeitphrasen,' and the extracts from August Goethe's Album, or the usual political and literary reviews, the only other contributions are a paper by Herr Frey: 'Ursprung und Entwicklung Staufischer Kunst in Süditalien,' and a charming little story—'A Rainy Day'—by Herr Adalbert Meinhardt.—As a sequel to his pictures of Berlin life, Herr Julius Rodenberg contributes an interesting sketch, for which the capital again supplies him with materials. It is entitled 'Klostermann's Grundstück.—The practical arrangement of museums is dealt with in a most instructive paper by one well entitled to be heard on the subject, Herr Möbius, the director of the great Museum of Natural History in Berlin.—From Herr Anton Schönbach there is an excellent sketch of the life and times of Walfran von Eschenbach.—An important question is discussed by Herr Heinrich Albucht in his paper 'Kraftmaschinen für das Kleingewerbe,' which indicates the advantages which would accrue to the smaller industries if it were put within their power to use machine power.—A paper which appeals to educationists is Prof. Grimm's

'Geschichtsantevischt in aufsteigender Linie,' of which the practical conclusion is that only such as have gone through a thorough course of German history in the University should be allowed to teach it in schools.—An interesting contribution is 'The Flora of Heligoland,' by Prof. Reinke.

WESTERMANN'S MONATS-HEFTE (July, September).—The first of these numbers consists almost exclusively of fiction and of those descriptive articles which this magazine has long made its speciality. To the former the contributions are a further instalment of the serial 'Gräfin Erika's Lehr-und Wanderjahre,' and the first part of a translation by Spielhagen of Julien Gordon's 'Mademoiselle Reseda.' The latter are represented by 'T. Castelli Romani,' 'Palerno,' and 'A Fortnight in Kalymno—an island in the Archipelago noted for its sponge fisheries,' and 'Ottobeuren,' the Suabian Escorial. All these papers are profusely and excellently illustrated.—The only contribution not belonging to one or other of these two classes is a short essay in which Otto Brahm deals with the question of 'Naturalism and the Theatre.'—There is a little more variety in the September part. In the first place, archæology is represented by two interesting and instructive articles. One of these—which is accompanied by a series of 17 illustrations—deals with mediæval tournaments, the other gives a great deal of information concerning the inns of antiquity.—In addition to this, Herr Arthur Kleinschmidt contributes a paper which is at once historical, artistic, and archæological, and in which he sets forth all that has been done by the Count Borromei in the service of the Church and of Art.—This time, the only traveller is a writer who signs himself M. A., and who gives a sketch of his travels through the East of Algeria and a part of the Sahara.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN (Erstes Heft, 1892).—As this number has just come to hand as we are going to press, we must content ourselves with merely calling our readers attention to the somewhat varied and attractive list of its contents. Dr. T. C. Achelis writes on the origin of 'Practical Theology.'—Professor Kittel of Breslau treats of the Pentateuch documents in the Books of Judges and Samuel.—Dr. H. K. Hugo Delff gives a further contribution to the question of the Fourth Gospel and its authority, which he has treated elaborately already in several of his published works.—Herr Oberpfarrer Wandel has a lengthy article on the Roman governor, C. Sentius Saturninus, and Professor Retschl of Kiel writes on 'Christian Apologetic in the Past, and its Mission in the Present.'

RUSSIA.

ROOSKAHYAH MYSL—Russian Opinion (June, July, and August).—These three numbers contain several continuations from previous numbers, among them the transcripts from the correspondence of Messrs Herten and Ogareff, recommended as 'Materials for a History of Russian Society,' and the close of the picture of country life entitled 'Sizif,' translated from the Polish of Clemens Eunosh by V. M. L.—The 'Foreign Review,' by Mr. V. A. Goltseff, gives an account of a correspondence between Mr. Labouchere and a French Deputy of the Napoleonic party respecting the Italian navy.—The question of the proposed Maritime League seems to occupy the attention of Russian editors far more than it does their English brethren.—The labour question on the Continent naturally calls for remark, as also the standing questions of the Triple Alliance, the newly developed friendship between France and Russia, and the rival claimants for united Germany's homage, Prince Bismarck and the Emperor Wilhelm II. Bulgaria, Serbia, and Greece of course are not forgotten.—The 'Home Review,' which is varied enough, deals with the progress of Siberian railways; the alleviation of the lot of exiles; the Peace Society's twenty-fifth anniversary at St. Petersburg and Moscow; the Novoe Vremyah (New Times) on the books of Mr. Gr. Djanshieff; the emigration of Poles to Brazil; the new customs tariff; the measure for securing the national food supply; the Female Medical Institute of Petersburg; the emigration of Jews to America and Asia; the reception of the French fleet; the nobles' and peasants' banks in view of the bad harvest; the missionary meeting at Moscow; the Esthonian festival at Dorpat, national schools, and the question respecting the future precedence of languages, etc.—The 'Bibliographic Division,' contains notices of fifty-six works.—In the June and July numbers, the thoughtful series of chapters entitled 'Literature and Life,' by Mr. K. K. Michaelofski, is continued.—The June and August numbers contain (1) a continuation of Mr. V. Th. Miller's 'Excursion in the Domain of Russian Epochs;' (2) two papers under the head of 'Scientific Views,' one by Mr. K. I. Toomski, entitled 'New Technics,' the other by A. Th. F., entitled 'Of the New Literature on Corn Tillage.'—The July and August numbers have (1) a complete paper of 50 pages by Mr. D. I. Anochin, entitled 'A Hundred Years' Letters of Russian Travellers;' (2) 'Of the History of the agitation on the Orenburg frontier, proposed as 'Materials for a History of the late Kirghish rising,' by Mr. N. A. Sereda; (3) a complete Review in 44 pages by A. V. P. of Mons. Brunetiere's 'Evolution des genres dans l'histoire de la

littérature;’ (4) an anonymous paper on ‘The French Exhibition at Moscow.’—The matter special to each month now claims notice.—In addition to a large supply of fiction, the June number contains the second half of the clever ‘Hypothesis concerning the nature [or essence] of the Historical Process,’ by P. Th. N.; ‘The First Russian Opera Reformer,’ Glinka, compared with Reformers of other nations, by Mr. Dmitri Behr; the second half of the gossip paper ‘From Athens,’ by Mr. M. I. Venyoukoff; the second half of Mr. M. A. Protopopoff’s ‘Successive Nationalities’; a Review of Mr. N. Zlatorafski’s collected writings; and ‘Contemporary Art,’ describing the first exhibition in Moscow of the pictures of the Petersburg Society of Artists.—The July number contains ‘Grief’ (Groost), a commemorative article on the fiftieth anniversary of the death of the poet Lermontoff, by K.; ‘The Mark or Sign (Zameytka) of Contemporary Romance,’ by Mr. V. A. Goltseff; ‘Commemoration of Lermontoff’ by P.; ‘Nikolai Vasilievich Shelgoonoff,’ and his works in two volumes, by Mr. M. A. Protopopoff.—The August number contains ‘Flowers,’ a Fantasia, by Mr. D. Bolkonski; ‘Lassal’s Diary,’ an anonymous sketch; ‘Stein’s Idea of Empire,’ a Review by Mr. R. U. Vipper of six authors’ works, including Seeley’s ‘Life and Times of Stein’; ‘Zemstvo and Emigration Questions,’ by Mr. Gleb Oospenski; ‘Psychological questions’ based on Count Leo Tolstoi’s ‘Kreutzer Sonata;’ and ‘Adam Mitskevich,’ his life and works, by Mr. A. Oomanski.

VOPROSI FILOZOFII I PSYCHOLOGII—(Questions Philosophical and Psychological) opens No. 4 of its second year with a discussion by M. K. Bentzel ‘On the Morality of Life and of the free Ideal,’—which is in point of fact a discussion on the Morality of *l’homme moyen* of whom Matthew Arnold writes: No metaphysics, no compulsion, let us simply take the morality of the man in the street and look at the standard which it sets up. In writing this article M. Bentzel has mainly followed M. Guyau in his treatise on ‘La morale anglaise contemporaine,’ and M. A. Touillée in his ‘La liberté et le déterminisme’ and in his ‘Critique des systèmes de morale contemporains.’ But he occupies himself in the development of his subject, mainly with the first. He shows us, then, as noticed, the current morality of society *d’une morale sans obligation ni sanction*. This morality does not trouble itself about theories, neither the utilitarianism of John Stuart Mill nor the evolutionary morality of Herbert Spencer and still less about the metaphysical morality of Kant and Hegel, but is content to follow a free and easy hedonistic path. This hedonistic direction he finds, mainly followed by

our contemporary English moralists, though he thinks that they emphasise too highly the active side, such as 'drinking,' as he slyly puts it, when 'he would be inclined to put in the pleasures of living, wishing, thinking,' etc. We must act, that is clear, and we must act mainly in the directions open to us. Some love more exciting, even dangerous paths. But life itself is on the whole the greatest blessing we possess, and in average circumstances, it is advisable to keep clear of whatever endangers its loss, although in certain circumstances, it is allowed that the advantages of life may sink to zero. The author discusses the relation of art to life which, in certain cases, as that of the professional artist, becomes a necessity: the path, in which his activity naturally runs. It would be impossible to forbid Chopin to occupy himself with music or Raphael with painting! But finally, the author, following M. Guyau shows that labour itself, which he names the true human providence, shows us the path we ought to follow. Acting we gain faith in the process of acting; we learn to believe in the result; and thus without troubling yourselves too much metaphysically about the matter, work on the line you have taken up and the result will probably be in accord with your expectations. But, Mr. Bentzel closes without finishing the subject and we shall have to wait for the following number to ascertain what his own and Mr. Guyau's last words are.—The succeeding article takes up the Pessimistic 'Theory of Knowledge, Criticism and Positivism,' and seeks to establish the validity of the last as essentially Pessimistic and Agnostic in character. The author M. E. de Roberti points out that the philosophy of the present time is essential, sensual or sensational in character. But this eventually throws it into the arms of Agnosticism and Positism, for even the Materialists of our day can only speak of matter as an entirely unknown entity. (In confirmation of this it may be remembered that John Stuart Mill could only define matter in purely Psychological terms as 'the permanent possibility of sensation.') Hence the field of our ignorance surpasses that of our knowledge and we are conducted again into the Agnostic Camp. The Editor feels it his duty more than once in the course of the article to protest against the Comtist expositions of Kant made use of in the course of the article.—The above mentioned article is followed by the continuation of the previously mentioned article on the 'Religious Metaphysics of the Mussulman East.' This goes particularly into the history of the mystical tendency in the Mohammedan world, which was from the first sufficiently pronounced, in no small degree owing to the cold, dry and limited character of the religion of the pro-

phet, especially the Sunnee form of it. This mystical tendency was in no small degree connected with the sceptical reaction against the intolerant character of the Mohammedanism of the first age, illustrated by such utterances as that of Abu-l-Ali, 'I look with wonder on people coming a thousand versts to throw pebbles and kiss a stone!' The root of this mysticism which became a natural counterpart to the narrow legalism of the religion of Mahomet is to be found in the Koran itself, which promises to the faithful a mysterious vision of the Divine Personality. This became the root of Ssufism, which has continued to exist in the East, particularly in Persia, to the present time. It taught a Pantheistic, ecstatic union with the Divine nature ascending through four degrees to a perfect union with the Divine. First, the fulfilment of the laws and ordinances of religion with the contemplation of the Divine nature. In the second stage the disciple reaches by the way of spiritual purity to the condition of the angels. Thirdly, the Ssufi attains to great fulness of Divine knowledge. In the fourth degree by the repression of the flesh and the external world, he loses his own personal and egoistic nature, in the attainment of a perfect assimilation to the Divine nature. There are ten maxims which contain the philosophy, or more properly, the theology of this exalted condition: such as, 'God alone exists and He in all and all in Him.' The rest of the article is taken up with the History of Ssufism in the two sects in which it has been divided. The leader of the first was Bestame who died in 875 of the Hegira; of the other, Jonael (died 909 Hegira). Traditionally the first founder of Ssufism was a woman named Rabia, and after this lady, Abu Saida-abi-l-Xaira, who lived about 200 of the Hegira, or 815 A.D. Besides these more theological representatives of this Eastern Mysticism, there has been a whole series of poets who have breathed the spirit of Ssufism, and at different epochs preached in their poetry the doctrines of Ssufism. The later reformers and disseminators of this tendency in Arabia and Persia have been Abd-al-Vaggab, the founder of the Wahabees, and Ali-Mukhamed-Bab, whose disciples have, in the later country, preached Babism, in which some have seen a transition in various ways towards Christianity.—The article following this is the continuation of Professor Kozloff's interminable controversy with Count Leo Tolstoi and his followers. This latter portion and avowed conclusion is mainly taken up with the ethical views of the novelist. From the concluding paragraph we extract a few sentences to show the conclusions come to by Professor Kozloff. He notices first of all the illusory character of Count Tolstoi's ethics. This like his metaphysics is

rendered nugatory by the action of what he names the *animal personality* which opposes itself to reason falsely so called, and thus continues to be a source of evil, senselessness and barbarism. There is no hope that the world will be other than it is from what we know of the past and present. As to the positive happiness which according to his idea is accumulating in the world, we see no real elements in or by which this will be preserved or utilised in the actual constitution of the world. The constituent elements of human nature, reason and matter, eternally remain identical with themselves and unchangeable. Consequently what relates to the human animal personality, cannot converse or enjoy this *plus* of happiness, for at death the human individuality is annihilated and leaves not a rack behind, with all the actions and results accumulated during its earthly existence. Character, as we have already seen, is not a reality, but exists only as a creation of the mind. Hence this wondrous growth or accumulation of love is in its nature only a *myth* called up by Count Tolstoi—a thirst for enjoyment 'here and now!'—The article which follows upon this discussion is by Professor Shishkin, on the subject of 'Determinism in connection with Mathematical Psychology.' After dealing with the subject the author is of opinion that he has shown enough to make it evident that mathematical psychology is not only possible but is capable of giving many new results, which could be obtained neither by the aid of metaphysics nor by instrumental research. But, at the same time, in the essence of its problems, it is closely connected with both these methods.—From this paper we pass to another, entitled: 'The Province and Limits of Suggestion.' It is by M. H. Bashenoff, and from the introduction we learn that he is a medical gentleman, and expresses his agreement with the expressed wish of the great Leibnitz, that all medical men should be students of philosophy. His wish was indeed somewhat more comprehensive: *Plût à Dieu que l'on pût faire que les médecins philosophassent au que les philosophes medicinassent.* The special object of his paper is to deal with the power of suggestion, or of influencing the minds of others such as has been displayed, particularly in experiments with the aid of hypnotism. The author begins by quoting Condillac in his description of the singular phenomenon of double personality in the same individual, shows how this phenomenon has been more thoroughly treated by Leibnitz, refers, moreover, to the treatment of the same phenomenon by Dr. Carpenter in his human physiology under the head of 'Unconscious Cerebration,' and by Sir W. Hamilton in his 'Lectures on Latent Mental Modifications.' He touches,

moreover, on the automatic action of the mind in certain cases, and concludes by drawing attention to the practical results of the psychological knowledge gained from acquaintance with these phenomena.—The last article, entitled: 'Concerning Paltry Imitations,' is by the well-known philosopher, Vladimir Solovieff. The article opens by enquiring, What is the character of true and genuine Christianity? In the second part the author endeavours to answer this question. 'All agree that real and genuine Christianity are the doctrines preached by the Founder of our religion. But when men come to agree on the Gospel as preached by Christ, they immediately differ as to wherein true religion consists. Some see the essence of Christianity in the opposition to evil; others in submission to the ecclesiastical powers, a third in miracle, a fourth in the separation of the Divine from the worldly, etc., etc. For all these beliefs more or less quotations may be made from Holy Scripture proving by supposition the truth that such and such a view of Christianity is the only real and true system. But it is so really when we consult the preaching of Christ, as understood by His disciples, that we are to understand the doctrine of Christ in opposition to evil; submission to the ecclesiastical powers; certainly it is not in these but in the announcement of the good news of the Kingdom of God. M. Solovieff gives a lengthened series of passages to prove this and discourses also on the relation of the Son to the Father, etc. As to wherein consists the Kingdom of God, the author holds the following:—the Kingdom is within us and is manifested without, but lives and grows in humanity: and moves forward by freely subjecting the will to its power. To worshippers of the letter, all this may seem contradictory but to those who have the mind of Christ, this is united in one common and universal definition according to which the Kingdom of God is the full realisation of the Union of the Divine, with man's nature, through the God-man Jesus Christ; or in other words, the fulness of the natural human life, united through Christ with the fulness of God. The whole is eminently worthy of translation as showing how these high subjects appear to the fresh minds of Eastern Europe more especially as exemplified in the great powers of Vladimir Solovieff! A special section is occupied by a dissertation on the 'Ontology of Hegel,' by M. N. P. Hilaroff Platonoff.—The second article in this special section is 'On the Influence of Fatigue in the reception of Space-Relations,' by Nuk Marin; and the third an article by Professor Grote, the editor, 'Fundamental Moments in the developments of Modern Philosophy,' an abridgement of the author's lectures on the Philosophy of the

17th and 18th centuries. The rest of the number is taken up by reviews of books and bibliography.

ITALY.

LA NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (July, August, September).—After an article by D. Comparetti on Aristotle's 'Constitution of Athens,' we have in the June numbers the close of Professor Barzelotti's interesting essay on 'Mystic and Pagan Italy,' in which he shows that after Christian mysticism had been revived by Savonarola among a people saturated with corrupt paganism, mysticism finally died with the last of the *piagnoni*, who was killed or beheaded at the siege of Florence.—P. Antonelli contributes some very interesting notes on the Italian possessions in Africa, deprecating half-measures and indecision, which only arouse distrust in the native rulers, who are by no means savages, but capable of reasoning. The Government ought to aim at connecting the interests of the natives with the interests of Italy.—An essay by Professor Chiarini on Lord Byron, enters into the politics and literature of the early part of the present century.—Signor Bonghi discusses the authority of the Presidents of the Chambers from the disciplinary point of view.—Professor Villari concludes his paper, 'Is History a Science?' by seeking to establish the fact that there is great need of a general, moral, and intellectual improvement, which would afford a fitting soil for the new science and faith beginning to be felt in many parts of modern literature, and that the Italians most need to cultivate such improvement. It was Italy's glory to initiate the Renaissance, and Italians will most inherit its effects. Political faith was what saved Italy from commencing corruption, but even that is not sufficient for a free and civilized people, which needs besides an ideal, which science and literature ought to restore within the hearts of the nation.—L. Ferri gives an account of the Platonic Academy, instituted in Florence by Cosimo dei Medici.—There is a further instalment of C. Baer's 'The Kingdom of Italy and the German Empire from 1814 to 1870.'—P. Mantegazza reviews 'Fatigue,' by A. Mosso; and Professor Valenti writes on 'Co-operation and Property.'—In the August numbers C. Paoli describes 'A Republican Faction in Siena in the Fourteenth Century,' and A. Valentini the 'Galleries of Art in Rome.'—Under the title of 'The Damnation of Tolstoi,' G. Boglietti describes the apostolic work of that writer.—A. Ferraioli gives a statistical account of 'The Present State of the Pontine Marshes.' E. Castellani has a paper on 'The Grand Old Men of the British Empire,' Sir John Macdonald, Sir Henry Parkes, and Sir George Grey.—The 'literary notes' say that Senator Negri has

lately written a complete study of George Eliot's works, and also of her life.—The 'Jew Hunt' is the subject of an article by Signor Bonghi, in which he explains by historical facts how it comes that in a great modern and would-be civilized State such as Russia, a sad mixture of false science, and cruel and inhuman sentiments, has burst out with such effect.—L. Pigorini describes 'The Origin and Present Condition of the Pre-historic and Ethnographical Museum in Rome.'—In this and later numbers A. Luzio and R. Renier describe the buffoons, dwarfs, and slaves belonging to the Gonzaga family in the time of Isabella d' Este, showing how the highest society tolerated unparalleled rudeness and foolery on the part of its jesters.—There is a short tale 'A Venial Sin,' by Ugo Flores; an article by G. Levi on 'Gasparoda Salo, and the Invention of the Violin,' and a criticism by an ex-diplomatist on Crispi's article in the *Contemporary Review*.—Under the title of 'Gens Humida' E. G. Boner contributes an interesting paper on 'Nymphs and Undines.'—The bibliographic bulletin notices W. Scott's 'The Eight Hours Day,' calling it a noble advocacy of the reduction of labour.—In the September number the magazine protests against the correspondent of the *Times* quoting its authority for his dark picture of the economical and financial situation of Italy, for, though the *Nuova Antologia* always told the truth, it never expressed any want of faith in the future of Italy, nor in the men who now govern that country. The *Times* correspondent is often right respecting the errors committed during late years in economy, finance, and politics, but no doubt the bitter lessons of experience will lead to sincerity in financial affairs, economy in the use of public and private funds, and a strict limitation in the emission of bank notes, which will ultimately restore Italy to a flourishing condition.—G. E. Latini begins some paper called 'Medicean Tragedies,' and he first relates the case of Don Giovanni and Don Garcia dei Medici, exculpating their father Cosimo of all cruelty and crime, and depicting him as a prudent prince who hid a domestic misfortune from the eyes of the world.—E. Nencione writes a short article on two contemporary lyric poets; Giovanni Marradi and Arturo Graf.—G. Cantamessa describes the choir and upper church of San Francisco in Assisi.—'The Angel of the Mill' is a pretty Tuscan sketch by V. Grandi.—G. R. Salerno contributes 'The controversy on Socialism in England,' copiously quoting Kirkup's 'Inquiry into Socialism,' Webb's 'Socialism in England,' the 'Fabian Essays,' and Mackay's 'A Plea for Liberty.'—M. Tabarrini furnishes a paper on the late Ubaldino Keruzzi.—Signor Bonghi writes a long and important paper on 'Peace and the European Situa-

tion,' upholding the ideal of the friendship of nations, the adjusting of all international disputes by congress.—The editor publishes a youthful work by Cesare Correnti, entitled 'The history of a soul' in anticipation of the publication of the whole of that writer's posthumous works. Prof. Brizio contributes a long paper on 'Roman Sculpture.'—E. Mai continues his review of the Memoirs of Prince Talleyrand.

LA RASSEGNA NAZIONALE (July, August, and September)—We have articles by O. Scalvanti on 'Jacini and his political programme,' and by A. Brunialti on 'Playthings,' in which he confesses his passion for puppets, and his faith in wooden heads.—G. Grabrinski describes some new French historical works; and G. Mercallo writes on Antonio Stoppani.—G. Fortebracci gives a sketch of the Fountain of Clitumnus, and J. Persico discusses Guizot and his recent critic Faquet.—The planets Mercury, Venus, and Mars, are described by O. Z. Bianco according to the most recent observations.—C. V. M. offers some remarks on the science of armies.—E. Rossi contributes a paper on North America.—In all the numbers Stoppani's 'The Commentators of Genesis' is continued.—From the diary of a superior Piedmontese officer, A. de Sanit-Pierre, who died last year, a selection is made describing the Crimean campaign, the diary is translated from the French, in which language it was written. It describes scenes, persons, and events, in a lively, intimate style, and the present instalment arrives at Balaclava before the battle.—A. Stelvio, relating the facts of the Battle of Solferino and the Peace of Villa-franca, points out the teachings of history, which, he says, show that war, though one of the great scourges of humanity, is also one of the divine laws that govern the world.—F. Nunziante under the title of 'A gentleman of the good old time' summarises Hamilton's *Memoirs de la Vie du comte de Grammont*.—A foreign correspondent in 'Italy and France,' points out as the true causes of the disagreement of those two countries, the permanent one of the wish of France to be without rival in the Mediterranean and Italy's necessity to prevent this; and as a temporary one, France's present wish for war, her belief that she is ready, and Italy's need of peace. He concludes that the only way to restore harmony would be that France should not oppose Italy's influence in Tunis, and should give solid guarantees not to disturb the peace of Europe, and so enable the nations to diminish their standing armies. But this is so difficult a matter that it may be held absolutely impossible that it should be obtained from France.—The editor of the magazine publishes a long article on Optimism and Pessimism from the pen of a very

young author, a disciple of Rosmini, which he notes as being a remarkable work.—The diary of Signor di Saint Pierre is carried on to the 10th of June 1855, describing the ravages of the cholera in the Crimea, and the death by that disease of General Lamarmora. The writer sometimes complains of the treatment of the Italian contingent by the English chiefs in the matter of camping-ground, etc.

L'ARCHIVIO STORICO ITALIANI (1891, Issue 2,) contains the most ancient documents of the *pievi* of Bono and Condino in Treut (1000-1350), by G. Papaleoni.—Researches concerning the fourteenth century historian, Lodrisio Crivelli, by F. Gabotto.—Father Vincenzo Marchese, by E. Pistelli.

The New Series of the ANCHIVIO VENETO (No. 1.) contains 'Galileo Galilei and the Venetian Republic,' by A. Favaro.—'An inscription in Pieve di Sacco (with facsimile),' by P. Pinton.—'Historical Rhymes of the sixteenth century,' by A. Ferri and A. Medin.—'The art of the Fioleri in Venice,' by G. Monticolo.—'George Valla and his trial in Venice in 1496.'

LA RASSEGNA DELLE SCIENZE SOCIALE E POLITICHE (July, August, September,) contains 'The Improvidence of Citizens and neglect of Governments,' by A. Brunialti.—'The last Encyclical,' by A. Gotti.—'Lord Granville,' by R. Debarbieri.—'Direct Government in the Swiss Communes,' by E. Coppi.—'The Labour Question,' by O. A. De Stefani.—'English Legislation,' by R. Debarbieri.—'The First Session,' by C. De Sevi.—'The Writings of Count Cavour,' by D. Ganichelli.—'A Primitive State,' by Q. Cato.—'Pope Leo's Encyclical on the Labour Question,' by A. Bertolini.—'Sardinia and the Homestead,' by J. Santangelo-Spoto.—'Cæsar Albicini,' by F. Giannini.—'Direct Representation and Democracy in Local and Modern Governments,' by E. Coppi.—'The law of Sociocracy,' by L. Ratto.

THE 'RASSEGNA DELLE SCIENZE GEOLOGICHE IN ITALIA' is a new publication, which has rendered necessary by the increased geological and vulcanological study in Italy, the results of which were scattered about in various pamphlets and reports, and are now to be gathered together in a form easily accessible to students, and all who interest themselves in such sciences. The first number for *July* 1891, contains:—'The Eruption of Vesuvius of 7th June, 1891,' by Dr. H. Johnston-Lavis, with four illustrations; 'The Veronese Earthquake of 7th June 1891,' by Agostino Gorran; 'The Chirographs of Pius VI. and the Subiaco Stone,' by E. Clerici; 'The Island of Linosa,' by G. Traburro.

GREECE.

ATHENA (Vol. iii., pt. II.).—In the first article Professor Lakon offers a number of emendations of the text of the Greek dramatists.—The k. Kouses has a long critical paper on the Ajax of Sophocles.—In a similar paper on Strabo's Geography the k. Papabasileios suggests the substitution of *Aevkavias* for *Bperravias* in 6. 254. 4. (Meneike).—The Bibliography contains a sharp criticism on M. Psichari's 'Essais de Grammaire historique du néogrec.'—The k. Hatzidakis has three papers, 'On the Declension of Nouns in Modern Greek,' 'On the Descent of Modern Greek,' and some additional remarks on the question of language in Greece (*Athena*, ii., p. 169).—The k. Bases has some remarks on Bernardakes' Plutarch.—The newly discovered work of Aristotle on the Constitution of Athens naturally comes in for a good deal of attention. The k. Papabasileios contributes a number of remarks on it, and the veteran Professor Kontos a first instalment of more than a hundred pages of an elaborate examination of the text.

JOURNAL OF THE HISTORICAL AND ETHNOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF GREECE (August, 1891).—The k. Sakellion publishes two Synodical decrees of the Patriarch George II. of Xiphilinos, the Sultan Mehmet IV.'s proclamation of war against the Emperor Leopold I. (1669), and the Emperor's reply; all from MSS. in the National Library.—The k. Papandreou treats of the ancient monastery of S. Laura, where the chiefs of the Revolution met in March, 1821.—The k. Kerameus contributes a number of papers: four hitherto unpublished fables by Constantine Akropolites; a note on the settlement of Joannina; a decree of date 1571 concerning its monastery; an account of the 15th century writer Makarios Markes, from a MS. discovered at Cairo in 1888; a list of 17th century prelates from a Jerusalem MS.; notices of various patriarchs; the patriarch Nectarius' encomium on George Koressios; and a note on the Jerusalem Codex of Pachymeres, which was mentioned by Coxe in his report to the British Government on Greek MSS. in the Levant. It appears to present important differences from Bekker's text.—Professor Kirpitchkenoff writes on the materials for a history of Byzantine literature.—A list of Chiote family names, before the Revolution, follows.—The k. Romanos writes on the ancient Epirote town of Bouthrotos.—The k. Sp. P. Lambros publishes records of the Patriarchate of Alexandria in the 18th century.—The number concludes with a notice of the late J. Sakellion, keeper of the MSS. in the National Library, and a frequent contributor to this Journal.

FRANCE.

REVUE DES ÉTUDES JUIVES (Avril-Juin, 1891).—This number is prefaced with a graceful tribute to, and an admirable portrait of, M. Joseph Derenbourg. His connection with this *Revue* from its beginning, and his many contributions to Jewish Biblical science, his own personal character, and the interest he has always taken in everything connected with Judaism, have prompted the redactors to pay him this mark of respect in celebration of his eightieth birthday.—M. J. Halévy contributes the twenty-fourth of his 'Recherches Bibliques.' Here he deals with the narrative of the flood. He takes the biblical account of the flood first by itself, and notes the verbal and other difficulties which the text, in its present condition, presents to us, and proposes corrections to lessen these. He sets it then in the light of the allusions to the flood in other books of the Bible, in order, if possible, to determine the period when it was known in Israel in its present form. He compares it then with the Babylonian narrative, and points out its dependence on it and wherein it differs from it. His object is, in addition to suggesting emendations of the text so as to bring out its true meaning, to show how Hebrew monotheism has adapted the story to serve its religious purposes, and that it is of older date and of greater internal unity than the critics of the Graf-Wellhausen school assert.—M. J. Derenbourg continues his 'Gloses d'Abou Zakariya ben Bilam sur Isaïe'; M. W. Bacher his 'Illustrations of Biblical Exegesis in the Zohar'; M. Levi his 'Jew of Legend,' 'le Juif de la légende'; and M. Martin Schreiner his account of Moses ben Ezra's 'Kitab al Mouhadara wa-l-Moudhakara' and its sources.—M. Solomen Kahn furnishes the first instalment of a series of documents tending to show the friendly feelings of Jayme I., King of Arragon, towards the Jews in Montpellier.—M. Lazare Belléli gives an interesting description of two versions of the Pentateuch, one in Greek, and the other in Spanish, contained in a volume in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. The volume, which was printed in Constantinople in 1547, contains the Hebrew text, the Targum of Onkelos, and the commentary of Raschi, besides the two versions already named. It is to these two versions that M. Belléli chiefly directs attention and their value that he seeks to bring out.—Under 'Notes et Melanges' we have Dr. Glaser and M. Halévy exchanging views on the Sabeian inscription, on which the latter in the last number of this *Revue* had a short paper.—M. D. Simonsen suggests a reason for Psalm xii. being made use of by the Evangelists so much in the history of the Passion, viz., that it

was one of the psalms used on Nisan 14th.—Under 'Bibliographie' M. Halévy finishes his critical notice of Dr. W. Brandt's recent volume, 'Die mandaische Religion.'

REVUE DES RELIGIONS (Nos. 4 and 5), 1891.—In the first of these numbers M. Abbé Loisy gives us another of his admirable 'Etudes sur la religion chaldeo-assyrienne.' This section is devoted to an examination of the various hymns in honour of, or references in the recovered literature to, the great national deities of Assyria and Babylonia, Assur and Merodach, 'Asur et Marduk,' so as to determine their real rank, character, and functions.—M. Abbé Beurtier, Professor at the Institut Catholique of Paris, furnishes a very interesting article, entitled 'Les vestiges du culte impérial à Byance, et la querelle des iconoclastes.' In it he first traces the source from which the idea of the king being a divinity, or the incarnation of one, came into Greece and Rome, and how the practice of paying divine honours to them or their statues spread. He traces the idea, of course, to Egypt and to the East. It was unknown in Greece until Alexander the Great was proclaimed son of Amon by the priests of Amon, and the eastern postures of reverence were seen adopted in Persia in his presence. The Greeks, however, showed themselves for long very averse to this idea. But in Egypt the Ptolemies were honoured as 'sons of Ra,' and in Syria the Seleucides had temples and priests everywhere. It was at Pergamos that the cult of Rome and Augustus was begun. It was looked coldly on in the Latin provinces until Elagabalus, the Syrian, succeeded in arousing a large measure of enthusiasm in its favour. M. Beurtier shows how it affected all classes, and, penetrating the church, led to the worship of the images and pictures of Christ, of the Virgin, and of the saints. It is an extremely suggestive paper, and deserves the careful consideration of all who care to trace the elements that have entered into and helped to modify the life of the Church.—In the second of these numbers of this *Revue*, M. Abbe de Broglie begins an important study of the 'Loi de l'unité de sanctuaire en Israël.' In Israel there was only one Temple, one altar as it were, on which sacrifices could be legally offered. It was a very peculiar arrangement—was quite unique, in fact, in ancient religions. What was its origin? and, when was it instituted? Our author states the answer given by 'the written official history, and by the undisputed tradition of the (Hebrew) nation.' He shows then how reasonable that account is, and how it bears all the marks of being natural and true. The historical circumstance that occasioned the giving of the law

and the character of the religion are both in harmony with it, and the object aimed at justified it. M. de Broglie then states the objections to this way of regarding the origin and object of the laws that are put forward by the modern critical school, and sets himself to refute them. The position, learning, and logical acumen of the writer render his article one that must be reckoned with by the adherents of the school in question, but we can only here direct attention to it, for, from its very nature, it is impossible to condense its substance within a few lines and give a true idea of the value of its arguments.—The only other article in this number is a continuation of M. Felix Robiou's '*La question des mythes.*' Here he confines himself still to those of Egypt, to the solar myths, and to those regarding the elementary deities.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES (August, September).—The first of the numbers for these months is largely taken up with continuations of articles begun in the course of the preceding quarter. Amongst these we have a third instalment of M. Victor Cherbuliez's '*L'Art et la Nature*'—the present section dealing with the troubles and the torments of imagination, and its deliverance from them by the help of Art.—Further, Colonel Vigo-Roussillon gives another batch of military reminiscences.—Finally, M. Ferdinand Brunetière concludes his able study of Bossuet. The special point here considered is the Bishop of Meaux's '*Philosophy*,' and the writer points out that one main and leading idea, that of Providence, pervades his whole system, that to look for his philosophy in his set philosophical treatises merely is doing less than justice to his originality, and, lastly, that nothing is more false than to represent Bossuet as 'calmly installed in his Episcopal throne, at the most solemn moment of the great reign,' blind to the progress of free thought, deaf to the tumult already giving warning of the approaching storm, and dying, in 1704, without suspecting that Voltaire had appeared.—Of the complete articles the first is that which M. Gaston Boissier entitles '*Un Enseignement Nouveau*,' and in which he traces the present condition of the 'modern side' in French schools.—The next, contributed by M. Louis Wuarin, traces the evolution of democratic government in Switzerland.—One of the most interesting contributions to the next number is that in which M. Berthelot gives the result of his researches with regard to the famous Greek fire of antiquity and the invention of gunpowder.—Private theatricals at the French Court are dealt with in a pleasant sketch by M. Victor Du Bled; and, finally, M. Edouard Schuré, bringing another instalment of his delightful '*Paysages historiques de France*' gives us the 'legends' of St. Patrick—

whom he makes a native of Boulogne—of Merlin, and of Taliesinn.—In the number dated September the 1st, considerable space is occupied by a sketch which M. de Segonzac gives of his travels in the west of Africa.—From M. Gabriel Seailles there is an able and erudite study of Leonardo da Vinci's method and of his conception of science.—For naval specialists there is an important article on the last manœuvres of the French fleet. Two of the points upon which the anonymous but thoroughly competent writer dwells with most stress are, in the first place, the difference between manœuvres and actual warfare, and, as a corollary to this, the erroneous judgment of those who estimate them according to the dash displayed, the noise made, and the number of forts supposed to be taken by some brilliant, but in reality impossible feat.—In the last number the article which many will read with the greatest interest is that in which M. G. Lauson sketches the chequered career, and gives an account of the works, of Antoine de Montchrestien, the inventor of the term 'political economy' and the author of the first Mary Stuart tragedy.—As a sequel to his paper, 'Les Comédiennes de la Cour,' M. Victor Du Bled contributes a sketch of the private theatres of the Duc d'Orleans and of the Comte de Clermont.—The signature of Admiral Jurien de La Gravière is ample guarantee that the essay 'Les Gueux de Mer' is as notable from the purely literary as from the more technical point of view. It may be described as a most interesting and valuable contribution to a general history of the navy.

REVUE DE L' HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS (No. 3, 1891).—'Tyché ou la Fortune, à propos d'un ouvrage récent,' is the title of the article in this number, and the writer of it is M. A. Bouché-Leclercq. The recent work referred to is M. F. Allegre's 'Etude sur la déesse grecque Tyché, sa signification religieuse et morale, son culte et ses représentations figurées.' The article, however, is not a mere summary and criticism of M. Allegre's book, but is also an independent study of the questions, or points, discussed in it, or rather in the first part of it. The first part of it, as its title indicates, is devoted to the elucidation of the idea or ideas enshrined in the word, or personified in the goddess. Who was she? Whence came she? or as what was she presented in the Greek mythology? and what position did she occupy in, or what influence did she exercise, on, the religious thought and life of Greece, or, under the name of 'Fortuna,' in Rome? M. Bouché-Leclercq gives a brief summary of M. Allegre's conclusions as to these points, and then proceeds to indicate those to which his own study, from the original sources, has led him. He thinks highly of the

work which has occasioned his article here, and has no wish to supersede it, but writes in the hope rather that the volume being read in the light of what he brings forward may prove more serviceable to its readers.—M. Paul Regnaud furnishes a short paper on 'Les origines du Mythe d'Aurva,' which will be interesting to Vedic students.—M. L. Dollfus gives a slight sketch of the life of an eleventh century saint, the Spanish monk, Domingo de Silos, taking as his guide, or the source of his information, the elaborate account given of him by the Spanish poet, Gonzalo de Berceo.—M. L. Leblois notices three recent contributions to the question as to the relations of Buddhism and Christianity, viz., Herr Seydel's book, 'Das Evangelium von Jesu in seinen Verhältnissen zur Buddha-Saga und Buddha-Lehre; two lectures by the Brahman Nisikanta Chattopadhyaya, published in the 'Indische Essays,' and M. K. E. Neumann's 'L'Intime parente des doctrines bouddhistes et chrétiennes.' There is also, along with reviews of several important works bearing on the Science of Religion, a highly appreciative one, by the Editor, of the late Dr. Hatch's Hibbert Lectures. In it Dr. J. Reville points out perhaps the gravest fault of Dr. Hatch's treatment of the question before him—his omission, viz., to consider the influence of the Orient on the development of Christian dogmas and usages. He, however, only took into account, as his title indicates, Greek ideas and usages; but Dr. R. shows that it is impossible to give any satisfactory explanation of the turn things took in the Christian Church unless the East is also reckoned with.

REVUE DE L' HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS (No 4), 1891.—The recent works in which MM. D'Eichthal, Havet, and Vernes have rejected the conclusions of the modern critical school with respect to the age of the book of Deuteronomy, or its central part, as well as that of the other component parts of the Hexateuch are giving some little annoyance to the leaders of that school. They characterise the views advanced in these works as fanciful and absurd, as resting on no solid foundations of historic fact, and as little short of the freaks of a perverted ingenuity. Still they demand attention, and it is felt to be necessary to expose their absurdity, and to show that the results come to by the critical school in question are in no ways affected by the criticisms passed upon them in these works. Some of the authorities in that school have, in magazines, pointed out how extravagant and untenable the views of these writers are. M. Ch. Piepenbring thinks that something more is required and he here sets himself the task of restating the argument, and reproducing a summary of the

evidence on which the conclusions of the modern school rest as to the dates of the several parts of the Hexateuch. The point he fastens on is the Law of the Unity of the Sanctuary, or the Law of the one Sanctuary—a strong point if not the strongest point of their position. The various laws bearing on this point are compared and set in the light of the historical testimonies of the books of Samuel and Kings, of the Chronicles, and the books of Ezra and Nehemiah. The kindred laws bearing on the revenues of the priests and levites; on their respective duties and privileges; on the high priest's position and functions, etc., are contrasted also and set in the light of historic fact. M. Vernes, the only one of the trio now alive, has declared that the proper way to study the question as to the origin, or date of origin, of the books of the Bible is to start from the period when the existence of the books is established beyond cavil, and work back from that to the periods when the proofs of their existence are less and less decisive. M. Piepenbring here takes his advice, and, starting from the sacerdotal period, works his way back to the age when sacerdotalism is hardly perceptible even in germ; when the later princely revenues of the priesthood were undreamed of, and the distinction between the levites and the priests was unknown. It is only the first part of his article that is given here, but that first part covers sixty pages of this *Revue*.—M. A. Audollent furnishes the 'Bulletin archéologique de la religion romaine,' for last year, in which he notes the discoveries made in Italy which in any way illustrate the ancient religions, Greek as well as Roman, practised on that soil.—M. L. Finet gives a short paper on 'Religion and the Theatre,' in India, and M. L. Massebieau one almost as brief on 'La langue originale des Actes des Saintes Perpétue et Félicité.' This latter article is directed against the views put forward by the Abbé Duchesne in a *memoire* read before the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres in January last.

REVUE MENSUELLE DU MONDE LATIN (August, September).—After having in a former instalment sketched the events which marked the famous—or infamous—24th of August, 1572, in the French provinces, M. le comte Hector de La Ferrière goes on to indicate in 'Le Lendemain de la Saint-Barthélemy' how the news of the massacre was received in the various countries of Europe.—Under the rather fanciful title of 'La foire aux idées,' M. Henri de Saussine's very readable article is a general sketch of the most important questions of the day.—In a paper, which appeals to specialists rather than to the general reader, M. Dally indicates the value of military manœuvres for the purposes of in-

struction and training.—Finally, in an article running through both the August and the September numbers, M. Paul d'Estrées shows the condition of the Jews in France under the reign of Louis XV.—There are, as usual, some very readable 'Chroniques' and special letters.

REVUE PHILOSOPHIQUE (August, September).—A very considerable part of both these numbers is taken up by two abstruse articles, one of them on mathematical equality, the other entitled 'La technologie artificialiste.'—In addition to this the first part brings a paper of more general interest on heredity amongst painters. The results which it gives is that, out of a list of 300 artists, two-thirds are sons of painters or 'artistic workers.' Were more ample details available the remaining third would probably bring a notable addition to these.—The paper headed 'Un précurseur de l'hypnotisme' gives details concerning a Lyons doctor—Pététin—who, as early as the end of last century, discovered many of the phenomena which are now being investigated in connection with hypnotism.—Finally, M. Fouillée has a lengthy paper entitled 'The Psychological Problem.' Psychology, he says in his conclusion, is not simply or essentially the science of representation, it is the science of the will, just as physiology is the science of life. Its essential problem is: 'Is there a will within us? What is its nature? What is its action?' It is this will which gives to ideas and representations their real force; it draws them from the passive indifference in which they would remain plunged if they were only the reflections of a world complete without them. Psychology is an eminently concrete science, which studies the real being after it has arrived at that 'summum' of interior life in which it feels itself, thinks itself, and wishes itself to be. It should not, therefore, consider the conditions of consciousness in themselves nor in their objects, but also, and especially as conditions of an internal change, linked with external motion. It should endeavour to find out how far the object influences the subject, and how far the subject influences the object.

SWITZERLAND.

BIBLIOTHEQUE UNIVERSELLE ET REVUE SUISSE (July, August, September).—The place of honour in the first of these numbers is occupied by a long article on Moltke. It is written as a sequel to the articles which the author devoted to the German army some little time back, and is further, to a certain extent, a reply to those who, like M. Charles Malo and M. G. Gilbert, question the famous soldier's claim to be considered as

a man of genius.—The object of M. Ed. Lullin is to bring together a number of facts illustrative of the various kinds of works accomplished by animals, and to show how man has been able to avail himself, with more or less ingenuity, and sometimes with excessive selfishness, of the strength, the skill, and the instinct developed by them.—‘A travers le Caucase’ is a third instalment of M. Emile Levier’s account of his botanical excursion through Caucasus.—In this part lighter literature is represented by ‘Deux Fières’ and ‘Le péché de Joost Avelingh.’ They both run through the quarter.—In both the August and the September parts M. Ernest Naville has instalments of a paper entitled ‘Les Œuvres communes à la Chrétienté.’ It deals more particularly with the efforts being made by all religious bodies to abolish slavery, to check drunkenness, and to ensure the observance of Sunday as a day of rest, and shows the advantages of united action in these philanthropic crusades.—The ‘Bailli philosophe,’ to whom M. Henri Warnery devotes an article is François Rodolphe de Weiss, a rather insignificant, but yet not wholly uninteresting Swiss magistrate of the close of last century.—In an article headed ‘Les Mines de Pierres précieuses,’ M. Ed. Lullin writes pleasantly and instructively about precious stones, their uses, and the various methods by which they are extracted from the earth.—‘Notes sur l’Art contemporain,’ ‘Le Mouvement littéraire en Espagne,’ and the usual delightfully gossipy ‘Chroniques’ complete three excellent numbers.

SPAIN.

LA ESPAÑA MODERNA: REVISTA IBERO-AMERICANA (July, 1891).—‘Settled Good Weather,’ is the leading little story by R. Becerro de Bengoa, and it turns on a little intrigue, the scene being laid in Asturias. It is simply and well told, with enough local colouring to make it informing.—‘The Ancient Monuments of America’ is a somewhat unsatisfactory essay on the connection of the pre-Columbian monuments, such as those of Palenque and Yucatan, with those of the so-called Old World. The Author—José Ramón Mérida—is inclined to connect these monuments, and those of Mexico and Peru, with those of Southern India. While the ruder works, such as the works of the Mound Builders and the Cliff Dwellers, as well as the stone paintings amongst the ruder tribes, he considers may all have arisen locally.—A translation from the Romance by Miss Blanca de los Rios is in easily moving measure.—‘Faust in Music’ is a complete study by Arturo Campión—of Gounod’s *Faust*: Arrigo Brito’s Opera of

Mefistofele, Hector Berlioz' *La Damnation de Faust*; and Robert Schumann's *Scenen aus Goethe's Faust*. He examines it in music, which speaks of affliction, joy, sorrow, or grief in the abstract, in its essence.—'La Gran Noticia' is a delicious bit of drollery in verse, in which a maiden stops an old man in the street to read a letter for her, and he is obliged to confess that he cannot read it either.—'The International Chronicle' deals largely with England and Portugal in Africa, and refers to the speeches of the Count of Casal Ribeiro, and the Bishop of Bethsaida—the one demanding closer friendship with Spain; the other calling for greater leaning towards democracy and liberty!—Castelar concludes a keen review of the situation thus: 'Feasts in Great Britain and in Great Muscovy: illuminations on the Volga and the Thames; salvos through the Straits of the Baltic, and salvos through the English Channel; suppers in Peterhof, and suppers in the Guildhall; music and odours in the atmosphere; lights competing with those of the heavens; wondrous dances in gardens worthy of Semiramis; speeches and solemnities interminable; all to let us know that we are going to war! This wretched humanity is ever the same in this planet!' The foreign section includes translations of tales and articles by the foremost French authors. (August, 1891.)—'Juan Malasana and his daughter,' is a critical examination of the story of the hero who, on the 2nd of May 1808, fought the French at the entry to the Artillery Park Madrid, aided by his wife and a daughter of 17, who died handing him cartridges. He is said to have continued firing with his dead daughter at his feet, until himself slain.—'Settled Good Weather' is completed, by leaving a pair in a very false position; not a specially wholesome, but a characteristic Spanish story.—'The Coach' is another purely Spanish story, that gives a good insight into Spanish life and the mode of courtship.—'In the Album of a Chilena' is a graceful piece of verse by Gaspar Nunez de Arce, in which he compares the dark beauty to all that inspires him with admiration and respect.—'The Economic Review,' shows a deficit of nearly 2½ million sterling for the year in Spain—while the 'Ex-Minister' does not report any more hopefully of the Portuguese finance, more especially in face of the revolutionary doctrines advocated. The condition of affairs in Portugal has lessened the value of Spanish securities on all the Exchanges of Europe. It is interesting to note, that while Spain is well accredited as a purely commercial nation, exporting more than it imports; yet this balance does not count alongside the general economic balance, which forces Spain to export 200 million gold pesetas

(8 million sterling) to meet its obligations on foreign capital invested in the country.—Tales, etc., by French and Russian authors complete the number.—(September, 1891.)—This number is changed to double columns, and we are promised in future double quantity of matter, while the general character of the magazine is approximating more to our own, with tales—original or translated—occupying most of the space.—The most important and interesting paper in the number is a second part of 'Ancient American Monuments, and the Art of the extreme East.' The general character is Cyclopean, with ornamentation to take the place of architectural beauties in other styles, such as the column and the arch. 'All re-echo the same system; in all we divine the progress of a similar artistic tradition; and yet what differences are there permitting us to imagine distinct dates, distinct races, distinct steps in advance, and even distinct tastes and local necessities.' He finds 'a family feeling' between American Pre-Columbian monuments and those of the extreme East, considering the influence Buddhist; and as Buddhism reached China in the first century of our era, it must have gone still later to America!—'The aristocratic Novel,' by the Marquis de Figueroa, deals with the works of Coloma, and quotes the saying of Quevedo, that a book for everybody should be kept by the author as unworthy, only the books for the few being valuable! It is interesting to note that, while a contemporary compares Dickens and Daudet, the Marquis here compares Daudet and Coloma. 'Both are Southerners, they attract by the amiability of their character, lightness and elegance of style, swiftness of conception, brilliance of ingenuity, which, fired by the sun of Andalusia and Provence, produces all their fascination and all their brilliance.'—The translations include the reminiscences of Renan, Wagner, and Von Moltke; and 'How Spain will never have a good Government,' a well known Spanish story, now translated back into Castilian from the French of Dumas.

HOLLAND.

DE GIDS (July), contains 'The Rose of Rigas,' a tragical romantic tale remarkable for vivid descriptions of tropical scenery in Sumatra.—In 'Russia about the Middle of the Seventeenth Century,' Uhlenbeck gives a series of interesting sketches of the Russian Court of the time, and of the people, their customs and folk-lore; he also shows how the reforms usually attributed to the autocratic will of Peter the Great were really on the way long before, and had become inevitable owing to the closer intercourse of Russia with other nations.—'Peter Paul Rubens,' is an excellent essay by Max Rooses, who

thoroughly understands his subject and gives valuable critical remarks on many of the master's pictures, showing by what art schools they were influenced, and how they in turn influenced succeeding painters and engravers.—August begins with a translation of *Æschylos' 'Seven against Thebes,'* by Burgerdijk. As might be expected, this is a work of great literary merit and on the whole a success. He keeps as closely as possible to the verse-forms of the original, believing that in great poetic works form and contents are so closely allied that any alteration of the measures would be highly detrimental.—'Servetus and Calvin,' an article by De Hoop Scheffel: first he reviews Prof. Van der Linde's book which makes Servetus the victim, not of Calvin, but of what he calls the Reformed Inquisition. Over-elaborated and over-weighted with matter, this book has the merit of exhausting more completely than any other the very copious literature of the subject, and likewise affords the writer material for another discussion of the case. The most interesting part is where he shows that though with Calvin and all the circle of his influence there was unanimous approval of the cold-blooded deed, yet outside of that circle there was, especially among Baptists, a wide-spread protest which Calvin answered with a lengthy apology. He cannot thus be called the victim of the ideas of his time though doubtless he acted from a sense of duty though a mistaken one.—Dr. J. R. Bos discusses at some length the diseases of plants and the ravages of noxious insects, demonstrating that a successful combat can only be carried on with these by making it a national and international concern. He adds some practical suggestions.—Theodore Rodenburgh and Lope de Vega,' is a paper in which a careful comparison is made between the plays of the old Dutch dramatist and those of the Spanish poet, with the result of showing that Spanish influence on Dutch dramatic literature of the first half of the seventeenth century is much greater than was usually supposed.—September.—'Alwina,' by J. Wolters: a prettily told but painful story of a professor in love, first with one then with the other of two sisters, and the wreck of the happiness of all three that ensues.—Hungarian national poetry is again represented by a full description of the popular epic 'Toldi,' by Jan Arany. The subject is little known historically, being from the Magyar annals of the fourteenth century. The author composed the different parts of it at long intervals between 1847-79, and from the time the first of it appeared as a prize poem, it was hailed as a great national achievement, among others by Petöfi, who praises it extravagantly.—'Goethe as Stage Manager,' is a record of Goethe's theatrical career at Weimar, which began

exactly a century ago. He had trials and difficulties and was not always successful, yet his brave efforts had an undoubted effect in the gradual rise of the German stage, so that his humble practical work deserves to be remembered.—Another article is devoted to Omar Khayjam and his place in Persian poetry and is illustrated by frequent extracts from Fitzgerald's English and Bodenstedt's German versification.—Lastly there is a paper by G. A. Wilken, 'A new theory of the origin of Sacrifice.' This refers to Prof. Robertson Smith, to whom he allows full credit both for research and acuteness, but says his theory is open to serious objection. It may be good enough, but the proofs he has to offer are often decidedly weak: as for example, in regard to the allegation that among Arabs and Hebrews the fundamental idea of sacrifice is not tribute or propitiation but communion. Again, he distinguishes too little between anthropomorphism and totemism, drawing conclusions as to the existence of the latter from customs which may simply be a product of the former. This is especially true in regard to the Semites among whom totemism was probably quite unknown. Mr. Wilken goes on to show, chiefly from usages prevalent in Polynesia that the idea of communion with the gods by eating and drinking is not a primary but a secondary idea in sacrifices.

DENMARK.

AARBØGER FOR NORDISK OLDKYNDIGHED OG HISTORIE (Vol. VI., Parts 1 and 2).—This volume opens with a lengthy article on the coinage of Gotland, by P. Hauberg. The great commercial importance of Wisby led to an early native mint, which was already in operation in 1211, and is consequently of considerable significance in the history of Baltic trading, though the finds rather indicate great business activity in Gotland itself than the spread of its coinage to neighbouring countries. The changes in the value of the Gotland mint and its relation to others are carefully traced from the historic sources. The older Gotland (?) *penning* with star or wheel on obverse and edifice on reverse is assigned to 1180-1200. The later Wisby coins (1340-1565) bearing the lily and lamb are very fully treated and illustrated in an appendix. As a contribution to the history of this once flourishing centre of trade the article is of considerable interest.—The last word has not yet been said about Roskilde Cathedral, and Prof. Kornerup has some important remarks to make in reference to Prof. Lange's previous article. The re-construction of the choir gallery he attributes to the conflagration of 1232, not to a mere fancy of

Bishop Suneson's in 1198. Prof. Lange supposed that the present Cathedral had been built outside of the older edifice while the latter was still standing, but recent excavations (in March, 1891) have shown that this was not the case,—the first building did not lie within the present, and must have been taken down before this was commenced. — (Part 2). — Dr. S. Müller introduces a new experiment in archæology, viz., microscopic observations of the materials found in ancient graves. These have been carried out in Prof. Stein's laboratory by Cand. Gram, and yield most interesting results. The human hair examined is found to be blond, and the cloth-stuffs are mainly of black wool mixed with hairs from animals of the deer species. Dr. Müller points out the valuable nature of this evidence, which relates to materials of the early Bronze age (c. 1000 B.C.)—Chr. Kjer contributes additional proofs that the church-law of Skane (south of Sweden) is older than that of Zealand, partly from the history of Bishop Æskild and partly from internal evidence. The proof from the use of the red-hot iron ordeal is very interesting as showing the position of the Church to this method of evidence. F. Jonsson has a number of critical notes on the difficult *Vellekla* ('gold-lack') of Einarr skalaglam, preceded by a short sketch of the life of the skald and estimate of his poetic abilities.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

Manual of the Science of Religion. By P. D. CHANTEPIE DE LA SAUSSAYE. Translated from the German by Beatrice S. Colyer-Fergusson. London and New York. Longmans, Green & Co. 1891.

Notwithstanding the rapid multiplication of works both here and on the Continent, dealing with the Science of Religion, no attempt has hitherto been made in this country to produce anything like a satisfactory manual on the subject. Students have felt the need of one, but in the absence of any other they have had to put up with the translation of the somewhat sketchy and unsatisfactory handbook by Tiele. The above-noted volume is still a translation, but it is the translation of a work which is in every way superior to the one just mentioned. Since the latter was written the science of religion has made considerable progress. New facts have been discovered and new theories developed, and Professor Chantepie de la Saussaye's has the advantages of being written up to date and containing the latest and fullest information. It is written, too, as a manual, the aim of the author being not to develop a theory, but to lay before the reader the latest results of the science. In this respect it is impossible not to admire the skill as well as the learning of its author. Theories are set over against theories, their differences and insufficiencies pointed out, and safely established results distinguished from conjectures in a manner rarely excelled. The author's criticisms are specially valuable. While always impartial, weighty, and incisive, they are eminently suggestive, often throwing an entirely new light on the topic under review. Unlike many manuals the one before us is well written. Probably in this respect it owes much to the translator and her father, Professor Max Müller; but whether or not, there is a brightness and readableness about the volume which translations rarely possess. After reading the many disquisitions which have appeared about the distinctions between idols, amulets and fetishes, it is refreshing to come across a sentence in which they are all so happily distinguished as in the following: 'An idol is the image, an amulet the pledge of the protection of a divine power, and however powerful the idol may be supposed to be, and however closely connected that protection may be with the possession of the amulet, the divine power itself remains above both, while it is wholly incorporated in the fetish.' The present volume is the first of two, the second of which deals with the religions of Persia, Greece, Rome, Germany and Islam. It is divided into four sections, entitled respectively, Introductory, Phenomenological, Ethnographic, Historical. In the first of these such topics as the history of the Science of Religion, the theory of Evolution, the Science of Religion and the Origin of Religion, the divisions and principal forms of religion are treated. With respect to the theory of evolution, Professor Chantepie de la Saussaye is of opinion that it will not be sufficient for a proper appreciation of the religious life of mankind. The question as to the origin of religion he regards as in reality philosophical and does not attempt to answer it, contenting himself with simply bringing together the various theories which have been put forward in answer to it, and subjecting them to a careful criticism. The phenomenological section is a comprehensive attempt, so far as we know the first which has yet been made, to arrange the principal groups of

religious conceptions in such a way as to give prominence to their most important sides and aspects. Under the ethnographic section the ethnographic divisions of mankind are discussed and the religions found both among savages and half or totally civilised nations whose historical development is obscure, are dealt with. The religions treated of under the historical section are those of China and Egypt, the Babylonian and the Assyrian, and that of the Hindoos. Lists of books are prefixed to each chapter, which, though not complete, are sufficient to guide the student in his researches.

Justice: being Part IV. of the Principles of Ethics. By HERBERT SPENCER. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 1891.

Whether agreeing with Mr. Spencer or not, every one who takes an interest in philosophy will rejoice at the appearance of this volume, and hope that it is but the beginning of the completion of the great work on which its distinguished author has been engaged so many years, and which has done so much towards shaping the thoughts of the present. It is the first volume which Mr. Spencer has been able to add since laid aside some five years ago to the already numerous volumes in which his system of Synthetic Philosophy is expounded. It is somewhat out of its order among them, but it has been written as the most important of those which, in 1886, remained to be written. It covers almost the same ground as that now apparently scarce volume which the author issued in 1850, under the title *Social Statics*, but is in some respects different. One difference, we are told, is that the supernaturalistic interpretation noticeable in the earlier volume has here disappeared, and an interpretation exclusively naturalistic or evolutionary substituted for it. With this is the concomitant difference that whereas in *Social Statics* a biological origin for ethics was only hinted at, such an origin is here definitely set forth, and the elaboration of its consequences has become a cardinal trait. 'A further distinction,' it is said, 'is that induction has been more habitually brought in support of deduction. It has in every case been shown that the corollaries, from the first principle laid down, have severally been in course of verification during the progress of mankind.' The doctrine of the earlier volume, in fact, has to a considerable extent been superseded, and we have here *Justice* as a division of the ethics of social life treated from an exclusively evolutionary point of view. In dealing with it Mr. Spencer starts from the principle already enunciated that the conduct which Ethics treats of is not separable from conduct at large, and after remarking that the primary subject-matter of Ethics is not, as many suppose, conduct considered as calling forth approbation or reprobation, but conduct considered objectively as producing good or bad results to the self or others, or both, he proceeds in a couple of chapters to deal with animal and sub-human justice. Human justice, it is then pointed out, is a further development of sub-human justice, just as human life is a further development of sub-human life. The two are not different, but, as from the evolutionary standpoint they must be, essentially of the same nature, and form parts of a continuous whole. Passing to the other side of his subject, and proceeding to speak of the sentiment of justice, Mr. Spencer observes. 'The Egoistic sentiment of justice is a subjective attribute which answers to that objective requirement constituting justice—the requirement that each adult shall receive the results of his own nature and consequent actions.' As to the altruistic sentiment of justice this 'can come into existence only by the aid of a sentiment which temporarily supplies its place, and restrains the actions

prompted by pure egoism—the pro-altruistic sentiment of justice as we may term it.’ Among the components of this are mentioned the dread of retaliation, of social dislike, of legal punishment, and of divine vengeance. The discussion of these brings us to the idea of justice. In this there are two elements—one positive, the other negative. ‘On the one hand there is that positive element implied by each man’s recognition of his claims to unimpeded activities, and the benefits they bring. On the other hand, there is that negative element implied by the consciousness of limits which the presence of other men, having like claims, necessitates.’ The unbalanced appreciation of these two factors lead to divergent moral and social theories, the discussion of which, though brief, is extremely interesting. The next three chapters are devoted to the formula of justice, which is expressed in the words: ‘Every man is free to do that which he wills, provided he infringes not the equal freedom of any other man’—a formula sufficiently wide, and at the same time sufficiently narrow. The remaining chapters are devoted to its explanation and application. Here, however, space prevents us from going further. The volume, as might be expected, is rich in suggestions and full of striking solutions to many important problems, some of them exceedingly intricate. Its value can scarcely be over-estimated. Dealing with many questions which are now under discussion, and throwing light upon whatever it touches, it is likely to prove the most popular volume in the series to which it belongs.

An Introduction to Ethics. By J. CLARK MURRAY, LL.D.,
Professor of Philosophy, McGill College, Montreal. Paisley
and London: Alex. Gardner. 1891.

This handy volume is an excellent companion to the author’s well-known and successful work on Psychology. Unlike many introductions it is not a philosophical discussion of the ultimate concepts lying at the foundation of a science, but a manual for beginners, and is intended to introduce them to the study of the science of which it treats. In his treatment of his subject, Professor Murray has followed the earlier tradition and has endeavoured to interest the student in the concrete application of moral concepts to the principal spheres of moral duty. The work divides itself into two parts: one treating of man as he is; the other of man as he ought to be. Hence the first book treats of the psychological basis of ethics and the second of ethics proper. In the first of them man is considered in a purely natural or non-moral aspect, and those elements in his constitution which render him capable of morality, are examined and set forth. In the second the supreme law of duty is dealt with, and the chief forms of moral obligation which are based upon it. Legal obligations are, of course, left aside, and those which are purely moral are treated of. The work is naturally to a large extent historical, the principal theories which have been advanced by various schools being carefully stated and examined. As those who are acquainted with Professor Murray’s previous work will readily imagine, there is no want of lucidity about the volume. It is written with admirable clearness and precision, and will be found a really excellent manual.

The Caliphate: its Rise, Decline and Fall, from Original Sources.
By Sir WILLIAM MUIR, K.C.S.I., LL.D., D.C.L., Sc.
The Religious Tract Society. 1891.

Though originally intended as an abridgement of the author’s previous work entitled *Annals of the Early Caliphate*, with a continuation of the history of Islam down to the fall of the Abbassides, this work has swelled

out into a volume considerably larger than that of which it is in the main an abridgement. No one, however, or at least we should so imagine, will complain that its author has found himself unable to compress his material into smaller space. As it stands the work is in our opinion a gain. In some parts it is more condensed and more vivid, while as a whole it is more complete. In fact it supplies what has long been wanting, a succinct and reliable account of the rise and fall of the Mohammedan power. For his materials the author, as in the case of his *Life of Mahomet* and the more recent *Annals*, has gone to the original sources, and chiefly to Tabari and Ibn Athir, though for the later portion of his narrative he has drawn largely upon Weil's admirable *Geschichte der Chalifen*. The story, as need hardly be said, is of surpassing, almost romantic, interest, more especially as told in the graphic pages of the volume before us, and from its immense importance in connection with the history of society and religion may well find a place in the publications of the Religious Tract Society. Towards the close of the volume Sir William Muir points out the chief causes of the weakness of Mohammedanism and its institutions, and discusses the question how far its creed is responsible for the dark spots in its history. His concluding words are worth repeating. 'As regards the spiritual, social and dogmatic aspect of Islam,' he says, 'there has been neither progress nor material change. Such as we found it in the days of the Caliphate, such is it also at the present day. Christian nations may advance in civilization, freedom and morality, in philosophy, science and the arts, but Islam stands still. And thus stationary, so far as the lessons of the history avail, it will remain.' It is to be hoped that as competent a hand will resume the story where Sir William here lets it fall, and continue it on to the Crusades, the Mameluke Dynasty, and its overthrow by the Osmanlies.

Life of Archibald Campbell Tait, Archbishop of Canterbury.

By RANDALL THOMAS DAVIDSON, D.D., Dean of Windsor,
and WILLIAM BENHAM, B.D., Hon. Canon of Canterbury.
2 vols. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1881.

It is now eight years since Dr. Tait died. Eight years seems a long period for the preparation of a biography, even when the biography is that of an Archbishop. In the present instance the biographers half apologise for the tardy appearance of their work, attributing the delay partly to the pressure of other duties, and partly to the vast mass of correspondence they had to read through, which, after all, turned out for the most part to be of little use for their purpose. Singularly enough, except during his earliest years, very little is said of the late Archbishop's private life. For some reason or other, it is his public or ecclesiastical life that is mainly dealt with. At the end of the second volume we have a chapter of what may be termed personal reminiscences, and at the beginning of the first, two or three that treat pretty minutely of his family and domestic relations, but in all the rest of the chapters it is his life as an ecclesiastic and statesman that is chiefly narrated. Of course Dr. Tait did himself give some account of his private and domestic life, but even the existence of this should scarcely have prevented his biographers from giving more space to their treatment of it than they have. Anyhow, the consequence is that their volumes lose much of the interest they might otherwise have had for a large number of readers. On the other hand, as a history of the Church of England during the greater part of the present century, their volumes are of undoubted interest and importance. The period will always be regarded as one of the most critical, and the share which Dr. Tait had in shaping and directing the fortunes of the English Church was too large

ever to be overlooked. Though not endowed with any very brilliant gifts, Dr. Tait had always, whether as a tutor at Balliol or as a bishop, sufficient influence to make himself felt, and from the time of what is called the Tractarian Movement down to the end of his life, he had always to be reckoned with whenever any proposal was made, or any movement was originated which threatened in any way to affect the interests of the English Church. During his lifetime many of his actions were severely canvassed, and his policy bitterly condemned. Fortunately it does not fall within our province here to discuss them. We can only say that his biographers exhibit a very laudable desire, though not without a very natural leaning towards the Archbishop, to place his policy and conduct in as clear and impartial a light as possible. Here and there their anxiety to be full, as in the case of the Ritual prosecutions, has made their pages somewhat tedious. But, on the whole, their work is full of interest, and throws considerable light on the inner movements within the English Church. As Dr. Tait was the first Scotchman who ever occupied the Primacy of England, his fellow-countrymen will naturally be curious to see how he discharged the many and highly responsible duties that fell to him, while in England the work will be read with varied feelings, according as the reader belongs to this or that section or party in the English Church. Though brought up in the Church of Scotland, Dr. Tait belonged to a family who, in the latter part of the last century, were staunch adherents of the Scottish Episcopalian Communion, and had for their minister no less an individual than John Skinner, the famous controversialist, scholar, and historian, and the author of the *Tullochgorum* and other well-known Scottish songs. While quite a child Dr. Tait was known as 'the bishop,' and the way in which, while yet a student, his name was connected with the Archbishopric of Canterbury was, to say the least, extremely curious. Whatever may be thought of him as an ecclesiastical statesman, there can be no doubt that he has left his mark on the Church of England, and as a contribution to the history of that Church during the present century, his Life will always hold an important place.

Richard Wagner. A Sketch of his Life and Work. By FRANZ MUNCKER. Translated from the German by D. LAUDMAN. Illustrations by HEINRICH NISLE. London: Williams & Norgate. 1891.

Herr Muncker has been unfortunate only in his translator. His publishers, printers, and artist, have all done their best to present his little work to English readers in the most attractive form, and they have admirably succeeded. In paper, type, and zincogravure renderings of Herr Nisle's illustrations, nothing has been omitted which could have contributed to commend this edition to all lovers of pretty books. But the pleasure in reading it is sadly marred by the all too German form of the translation throughout, and the manifold blunders which Herr Laudman's imperfect knowledge of English has led him to innocently commit. To give but one instance of the latter. Herr Muncker is writing of Wagner's visit to London in 1877, and his efforts to raise money there by a series of concerts to aid him in building his theatre at Bayreuth. These concerts brought him considerable applause but not much cash. Herr Laudman makes his author say of this experiment it 'brought the Meister high honours and won many friends for his music, but was attended by such immense expenses that *nothing less than a surplus of money was gained for Bayreuth.*' This is just the reverse of what Herr Muncker says. These blunders apart, however—and most of them are very apparent and easily

rectified by an attentive reader for himself—this little book gives an extremely graphic and interesting account of the long, earnest, and heroically hopeful struggles of Wagner to win the place in the front ranks of the world's musical leaders to which he thought himself entitled, and which the world has now enthusiastically accorded to him. Accompanying this record of his struggles is a sympathetic analysis of the various creations of his musical genius, and of his literary essays as they were chronologically produced, giving us a charming picture of the man in his strength and in his weakness, in his marvellous aspirations and ambitions, and in the personal defects that crippled his efforts, and the antagonistic environment in which it was his fate for so long a period of his life to be. Every lover of Wagner's operas will be charmed with this little work, and understand the touching sadness, that characterizes his works as a whole, much better when they are brought into personal acquaintance with the sad story of the man himself.

Rabelais : ses voyages en Italie ; son Exil à Metz. Par ARTHUR HEULHARD. Paris : Librairie de l'Art ; London : Allison & Co. 1891.

In another volume M. Heulhard proposes to deal with the life of Rabelais in France. Here, in the meantime, he restricts himself to such parts of the great humourist's career as were passed abroad. For the purposes of his work he has made very extensive researches, and during the ten years over which they have extended, has consulted many inedited and widely scattered papers and documents, some of which have been hitherto unexamined or unknown. The work is carefully done, full of interest, abundantly illustrated, and one of the best tributes yet paid to the memory of its subject. One point M. Heulhard distinctly makes out is that Rabelais made not simply one, but four expeditions into Italy. They were made in the company, or at the instance of either Jean or Guillaume du Bellay. The narratives which M. Heulhard has given of them are full of interesting particulars. While throwing light on Rabelais' career, they serve quite as well to illustrate the history of the fortunes of the great house to which his patrons belonged. A couple of chapters are also devoted to Rabelais' retirement at Metz, and from the writings of Jean Brysson, it is clearly made out that the humourist had a son named Théodule. M. Heulhard dwells at some length on the influence which Rabelais had upon contemporary thought and literature, and has given at the beginning of his volume a very acceptable morsel in the shape of a copy of the humourist's portrait preserved in the library at Geneva.

The Story of the Imitatio Christi. By LEONARD A. WHEATLEY. London : Elliot Stock. 1891.

This latest addition to the Book Lover's Library begins a series which is to be devoted to the history of books of world-wide fame. No better book, perhaps, could have been chosen wherewith to head the series than the *Imitatio Christi*. There is no question as to its world-wide fame. Into what civilized language have the four treatises composing it not been translated? and how constant has been, and still continues to be, the demand for new editions of it in every land? 'After the Bible,' Mr. Wheatley justly says, 'no book has been so much read or has enjoyed so extended a fame.' And the history of it is an interesting one. It has shared the fate of many famous books. Its authorship and place of birth have been the subject of debate from the hour almost of its appearance. Personal devotion to this or that writer, combined perhaps with national

vanity, has led to various claimants being brought forward on very slender grounds, and to their claims being upheld and defended for centuries. The controversy is not over yet, though the great body of cultured opinion now is in favour of the modest monk in the monastery of St. Agnes in Over Yssel, in Holland—Thomas à Kempis. Mr. Wheatley has for years been a devoted student of the literature connected with this controversy, and has been at great pains to examine the most valuable manuscripts that can shed light on the authorship and original state of the text. An earnest of his labours in these fields was given by him in the pages of this *Review* (July, 1885), and another was contributed shortly before to the *Bibliographer*. In the present volume he has condensed into small space a vast amount of information as to the book itself, its history, its MSS., its early printed editions, and the various editions since. The various claimants to the authorship of the book have their claims fairly stated and judiciously weighed. Mr. Wheatley entertains no doubts as to Thomas à Kempis being the author of the book, and he has gathered together here what is known of his history, of his character, and of his other writings, and endeavours to prove how all these are in keeping with the style and spirit of the *Imitatio*. A summary of its contents may help our readers to form an idea of the comprehensiveness of this volume. The first chapter gives an account of the book and of the esteem in which it has all along been held. Chapter II. is taken up with a short sketch—entitled ‘German Mystics’—of the spiritual movement to which the *Imitatio* owed its existence, and of which it is the reflex. Chapter III. discusses the birthplace of the book and its sources. Chapter IV. describes ‘The Brothers of the Common Life,’ to which order Thomas à Kempis belonged. Chapter V. details what is known of the history of Thomas à Kempis. In Chapter VI. the other works from the modest monk’s pen are treated of. Chapter VII. describes Dr. Carl Hirsche’s investigations of the various MSS. of the work. Chapter VIII. is taken up with the controversy as to the authorship. Chapter IX. enumerates and describes the MSS., and Chapter X. the printed editions and translations. Chapter XI. brings together the opinions of various writers as to the spiritual value of the book. In Chapter XII. we have a series of extracts from the *Imitatio*, and in Chapter XIII. another series from the other writings of Thomas à Kempis. In this volume we have also a valuable bibliography, an index, a specimen page of the Brussels’ codex, and a photographed portrait of Thomas à Kempis, taken from the picture of him preserved at Gertruidenberg. Lovers of the *Imitatio* will find here in a neat and handy form all that is worth knowing of the history of the book, and all that is known of the life of its author. Mr. Wheatley tells the story in simple language, and to him the work has evidently been a labour of love. It will be prized as such, and because of its own literary merits, by every one who has read—for to read is to esteem—the *Imitatio Christi* itself.

Il Principe. By NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI. Edited by L. Arthur Burd. With an Introduction by Lord Acton. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1891.

While this edition of *The Prince* is mainly intended for the use of those who are not already familiar with Machiavelli’s life and writings, the editor has endeavoured to summarise the results at which Machiavellian studies have now arrived and to indicate the most important sources from which further information may be obtained. To the accomplishment of his aim Mr. Burd has brought a rich and varied knowledge of Machiavelli, his works, and times, and critics which has been rarely equalled. We have

the high authority of Lord Acton that he has here given a more completely satisfactory explanation of *The Prince* than any country possessed before. Few are in a position to question that authority, but whether the assertion be true or not, it may safely be said, that Mr. Burd has produced the best book on the subject which the English language possesses, and has 'redeemed our long inferiority in Machiavellian studies.' The work indeed is a piece of editing which has few equals. It is a rich storehouse of information on all that concerns Machiavelli and is the result of well nigh infinite labour. To say nothing of the learned introduction by Lord Acton on the critics of *The Prince*, we have a long introduction by Mr. Burd, in which he deals almost exhaustively with the bibliography of *The Prince*, its purpose, and the criticism it met with down to the close of the last century; next a series of genealogical tables, including the Machiavelli, Borgia, Medici, Visconti and Sforza families; and next an Historical Abstract running to over eighty pages, in which are enumerated the principal events which occurred during Machiavelli's lifetime and recounting with considerable detail all the events with which the author of *The Prince* was himself personally connected. The notes are extremely elaborate. They aim chiefly at the illustration of Machiavelli's political and ethical ideas. History is largely dealt with in them, so as to enable the reader to follow the argument, and to understand Machiavelli's criticisms. At the same time an attempt is made to determine the chief authorities to which Machiavelli was indebted, and to illustrate his statements in *The Prince* from his other writings. Occasional passages are cited from other authors, but chiefly for the purpose of showing that in the ideas he put forth Machiavelli was not alone, but that his views were shared, in a more or less modified form, by many Italians of the period, Mr. Burd being of opinion that Machiavelli is his own best interpreter. On the question whether the author of *The Prince* was acquainted with Greek, Mr. Burd joins issue with Triantafyllis, and adduces cogent reasons why it should be answered in the negative.

M. Fabi Quintiliani Institutionis Oratoria, Liber Decimus. A Revised Text with Introductory Essays, Critical and Explanatory Notes, and a Facsimile of the Harleian MS.
By W. PETERSON, M.A., LL.D., Principal of University College, Dundee. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 1891.

For some cause or other Quintilian's fame has, in this country at least, fallen upon evil days. He appears to have been a favourite with Lord Beaconsfield, and to have been studied by William Pitt, Lord Macaulay, and John Stuart Mill; but since 1822 no British scholar has cared to undertake an edition of his writings, and even the famous Tenth Book has during the interval been only edited in part. The publication of the present work may help to call attention to a treatise which is at least deserving of study, if not for its style, certainly for its matter, more especially by those who respect the past or desire to excel in the art of which it more particularly treats, or to become acquainted with what one of the most enlightened teachers of the Roman Empire had to say in respect to the principles on which a liberal education ought to be based. The Tenth Book of the *Institutio* is remarkable, of course, chiefly for its literary criticisms, and whether Quintilian is here recording his own opinions or is simply reporting the current opinions of his time, what he has written is almost equally valuable, though it has always to be borne in mind, when reading his deliverances, that his primary object is not to appraise the literary value of an author, so much as to give directions as to what authors

ought to be read in order to the formation of a good style. In the preparation of his volume, Dr. Peterson has been largely aided by the labours of scholars on the Continent. There Quintilian is by no means so greatly neglected as here. In addition to the great editions of Spalding and Zumpt, and the more recent ones of Bonnell, Halm, and Meister, there is a valuable periodical literature about him which is continually growing. On all these Dr. Peterson has liberally drawn. At the same time his work is thoroughly independent, as a comparison of the text or a reference to pages 77-80 of the Introduction will show. In the Introduction we have five essays, each of which is of importance for the study of Quintilian. The first deals with his life. Here Dr. Peterson follows the now generally received opinion that Quintilian was born at Calagurris, and was consequently, like several of the leading men of his time, a Spaniard. He places his birth not later than A.D. 38, but appears to hesitate to accept for it A.D. 35, the year now commonly adopted. In passing, Dr. Peterson mentions Quintilian's statement, 'ego pro regina Berenice apud ipsam causam dixi,' and explains in reference to it: 'It was in all probability a civil suit brought or defended by Berenice against some Jewish countryman; and the phenomenon of the queen herself presiding over a trial in which she was an interested party is accounted for on the hypothesis that, at least in civil suits, Roman tolerance allowed the Jews to settle their own disputes according to their national law. On such occasions the person of highest rank in the community to which the disputants belonged, might naturally be designated to preside over the tribunal.' The second essay deals with the *Institutio Oratoria*, and the third with the literary criticisms of the Tenth Book. Quite as valuable and, indeed, more so to the student of the history of the Latin tongue, is the essay which follows these on Quintilian's style and language. Here Dr. Peterson enters minutely into Quintilian's use of words, and compares it with that of the Latin writers of the best period. The concluding essays deal with the MSS. In some respects this is probably the most important of the essays. The relations of the existing MSS. to each other are carefully discussed, and considerable attention is devoted to the Codex Harleianus (2664), in the British Museum, which Dr. Peterson identifies with the Codex Dusseldorpius, and is disposed to accept as the very MS. Poggio discovered at St. Gall. The notes are an excellent feature in the work, and contain much that throws light on the text. As already indicated, the text is a piece of independent work, in which Dr. Peterson has followed none of the recent editors on the Continent, but has studied and collated the MSS. for himself. In the main his text may be said to be conservative. As compared with the Zumpt-Bonnell text it is a great improvement and, in a number of instances, is preferable to that of either Halm or Meister. The printing of the variants beneath the text is an improvement to be desired. On the whole the work is a piece of excellent workmanship, and will deservedly take a high place among books of its kind.

The Works of William Shakespeare. Edited by WILLIAM ALDIS WRIGHT. Vol. IV. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1891.

The third volume of this, the new issue of the Cambridge Edition of Shakespeare's works, brought us down to the end of the Comedies. This begins the Histories, and contains in all five plays: King John, Richard II., the first and second parts of Henry IV. and Henry V. 1864 was the date when the first edition of the volume appeared, its preparation being the joint work of Mr. W. G. Clark and the editor of the present issue, Mr. W.

Aldis Wright. In preparing the volume before us, Mr. Wright has followed the same rule as in the previous volume, and has recorded all the emendations of the text which have been suggested since the volume first appeared. Besides the emendations and conjectural readings given at the foot of the pages, we have here a list of *addenda et corrigenda* taken from the second edition of the first volume of Mr. H. H. Vaughan's *Notes on the Historical Plays*, and from Bishop Wordsworth's edition of certain selected plays. The list is a long one and contains a number of readings which Mr. Vaughan subsequently gave up. During the quarter of a century which has elapsed since the first edition of this volume was issued great advance has been made in the textual criticism of Shakespeare, and the additions which Mr. Wright has added greatly increase its value.

A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles; founded mainly on the Materials collected by the Philological Society.
 Edited by DR. JAMES A. H. MURRAY. Vol. III., Part I,
 E—EVERY. By HENRY BRADLEY, Hon. M.A., Oxon.
 Oxford: at the Clarendon Press; London: H. Frowde.
 1891.

Mr. Bradley, as need hardly be said, is the President of the Philological Society, and has already done excellent work in lexicography in his recently published edition of Stratmann's *Middle English Dictionary*, a work to which we had the pleasure of calling attention some time ago, and which, as we then said, is in every respect a decided improvement upon the work as it left the hands of Dr. Stratmann, to whom, however, no small credit is due, both for its conception and for the accumulation of material for its further improvement. The present part of the *New English Dictionary* is somewhat of a jump, the intervening part or parts containing the remainder of C from CONSIGNER, and the whole of B and D being not yet completed. At the same time the arrangement by which it has been brought out is one that commends itself as a means of facilitating the progress of the work. From the Prefatory Note we learn that the sub-editing of the part was for some time carried on by Mr. P. W. Jacob, who unfortunately has not survived to see its completion. It contains 6842 main words, 1565 subordinate words, 786 special combinations explained under the main words, or a total of 9193. No fewer than 25 per cent., or 1710 of the 6842 main words, are marked as obsolete, and 273, or 4 per cent., as alien or imperfectly naturalised. Two features noticeable in the part are: (1) the extremely small proportion of native English words which it contains as compared with the large number adopted from the French and of derivatives from the Greek and Latin; and (2) the abundance of technical terms belonging to modern science. As to these latter, care has been taken to ensure the greatest possible accuracy in the explanations given of them, and in the case of those of them which have been adopted recently, as often as possible they have been traced back to the authors by whom they were formed, and the inventor's own statements as to the etymology and the reasons for which the name was given have, in many instances, in fact wherever it seemed necessary, been cited. The prefixes and suffixes, which in this part are numerous, seem to have received special attention, and many of the articles are more than usually excellent. In most of them new etymological information is given. In the case of many words the etymology has, as usual been corrected or supplemented. Among these may be mentioned 'eager,' 'Easter,' 'Easterling,' 'earnest,' 'either,' 'elope,' 'ember,' 'engineer,' 'enker,' 'enough,' 'enthusiasm,' 'ermine,' 'evening,' 'ever.' Many articles are interesting for the information they

contain as to the history of the words in respect to the development of their meanings, as for instance the articles under 'economy,' 'edge,' 'element,' 'elocution,' 'emperor,' 'emphasis,' 'engine,' 'English,' 'entail,' 'enthusiasm,' 'esquire,' 'establishment,' 'estate,' 'eternal,' 'euphuism,' 'evangelical.' The Scotch words are fairly numerous, and so far as we have examined, they are treated admirably. Jamieson may not, and probably will not be superseded by the *New English Dictionary* when completed, but the latter will be required as an indispensable companion to it. The work which Dr. Murray and Mr. Bradley, with their accomplished assistants, are carrying on, though now going on at a more rapid pace, is still keeping up its character for excellence and thoroughness, and is one of which every Englishman, and for that matter every Scotsman, ought to be proud.

A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles, founded mainly on the Materials collected by the Philological Society. Edited by JAMES A. H. MURRAY, D.C.L., etc. Part IV. CLO—CONSIGNER. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. London: H. Frowde. 1891.

This is the second part of this great national undertaking which has appeared during the present quarter. The publication of two such ample parts within so short a space of time is due mainly to the new arrangement referred to above. A work like this cannot be hurried, but its completion is now decidedly nearer. The present part includes the words from Clo- to Consigner, and contains 5215 main words, 708 special combinations requiring separate explanation, and 985 subordinate words and forms, in all 6908. Of the main words 24½ per cent. are obsolete, and 3¼ per cent. alien or imperfectly naturalized. Words beginning with the Latin prefix *col*, *com*, *con*, predominate, three-fourths of the pages being occupied with them. In the earlier pages are many words of old English origin, and among others the word 'come,' which occupies no less than 23 columns, the largest space yet devoted to any word in the Dictionary. The greater part of the words derived from the Latin, either directly or through the French, which are here dealt with, are used for the expression of some of the most important, general, and abstract notions in the language, and have, in many instances, presented considerable difficulty in respect to their sense-history. On the derivation and form-history of 'cockatrice,' 'cockney,' 'congeon,' 'cosh,' 'clough,' 'clow,' 'comely,' and others, new light has been thrown. Particularly interesting in the sense-history of 'cockatrice' and 'cockney.' 'Cock-sure,' 'coif,' 'collop,' 'comb' and 'coat,' again, are interesting from their sense-history. Fresh information is also given on such words as 'coach,' 'coco,' 'coffee,' 'colonel,' 'cornet,' 'communism,' etc. A number of bogus words have also been noted, and the editor has decided to give at the end of the work a list of such words. This of itself will be no small gain, more especially if their history is traced with the same fulness as that with which the history of 'cherisaunce' is here treated at the close of the preface. Altogether the work is not only going on at a more rapid rate, but the excellence of workmanship, which has characterised preceding parts is kept up, and its claims to a yet more generous support on the part of the public are being increased.

Daphne and Other Poems. By FREDERICK TENNYSON. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1891.

This is the third volume of poetry for which we are indebted to Mr.

Tennyson. *The Isles of Greece* was published but a short time ago, while *Days and Hours* is of a less recent date. Both of them are notable books. The latter has not attracted that attention which is due to its sterling merits, but either of them is sufficient to establish their author's claim to the title of poet. There is a freshness and nobility of thought and sentiment about them which mark the works of those alone who are in possession of 'the vision and faculty divine.' In the present volume of tender and beautiful idyls, Mr. Tennyson reverts again to the tales of classical Greece, and re-tells the stories of Daphne, Pygmalion, Ariadne, Hesperia, Atlantis, Psyche, Niobe, Eson, and King Athamas, in the same modern spirit, and after the same manner as adopted in the *Isles of Greece*. The method is one sanctioned by innumerable precedents, but it is questionable whether it is altogether judicious. It is something like putting new wine into old bottles. Beautifully told as the stories are, one has always a certain sense of incongruity. The thoughts and sentiments are not those of the individuals who are represented as uttering them. They belong to a different age and a vastly different civilisation. One has to imagine one's self transported across some twenty or thirty centuries, and listening in Pagan Delos, or Cyprus, long before Christianity was introduced into the world, to aspirations and searchings of heart and mind which are among the latest fruits of the Christian era. So violent a breach of the higher unities is not without its effect on the enjoyment of the volume as an artistic production, and all the more so when one remembers that examples for his purpose might have been found by the author at a later period of the world's history, when the thoughts to which he seeks to give expression were already dawning upon the minds of men. Of course this sense of incongruity may be the fault of the reader. All the same there is much to be said for it as against the method which Mr. Tennyson, along with others, has adopted of attempting to denude the old Greek stories of the Greek spirit, and to inform them with that of the modern Christian world. In other respects, however, we have little fault to find with *Daphne and Other Poems*. Now and then, but very rarely, we meet with a faulty verse. These, however, are so rare, and the versification is otherwise so perfect, that the wonder is that they are to be found at all, and argue nothing more than oversight, in most instances of the simplest kind. But, taken as a whole, the volume is deserving, notwithstanding what we have said, of great praise. There is an exquisiteness of thought and feeling, a fertility of imagination, and a rich luxuriance of fancy, about it which have been rarely excelled. Passages might be cited in support of this in abundance, but we must refer our readers to the volume itself. Lovers of poetry will receive it, as we do ourselves, with gratitude, and regard it as one of the most charming series of idyls which have seen the light for many a day.

Sports and Pastimes of Scotland, Historically Illustrated. By ROBERT SCOTT FITTIS. Paisley and London: Alex. Gardner. 1891.

Most peoples have their sports and pastimes, many of which are survivals of what were once serious struggles for existence. In the volume before us Mr. Fittis aims at giving some account of those which prevail or prevailed in Scotland. That his book is curious and entertaining need hardly be said. He carries us back to the remotest historical times, when the land was sparsely populated, the rivers teemed with salmon, and immense stretches of country were the home of bears, wolves, and boars, and the famous wild cattle. Coming down to more recent times he speaks of archery, fox-hunting, grouse-shooting, the royal game of golf, curling,

football, and cricket. From the earliest times Scotland seems to have been a favourite hunting ground. The Romans used to hunt the brown bear here, and transport it to Rome. Martial, in his Seventh Epigram, mentions how that Laureolus, a noted robber, was first crucified and then torn to pieces by a Caledonian bear. The jarls of Orkney were in the habit of coming over in the summer to Caithness, and there hunting in the wilds the red deer and the reindeer. Bishop Lesley tells us that the Caledonian Forest was once full of bears, while Camden writes that the same forest was dreadful for its dark intricate windings, for its dens of bears, and its huge, wild, thick-maned bulls. But long before either of these writers, and long before the Northern jarls and the civilised Roman, the ancient Pict and the more Southern Brython used to find food and sport in hunting the moose-deer or elk, the bear, and the wolf or wild cattle, while a still older race, at a still more distant period, had many a combat with the hyæna and leopard, the hippopotamus and grisly bear. In his chapter on the old Scottish wild cattle, Mr. Fittis has given an interesting account of the various herds of these animals still, or comparatively recently, in existence both in England and Scotland. In the latter country wolves were so numerous in the fifteenth century that Acts of Parliament were passed decreeing their extirpation, and, according to tradition, the last was not destroyed until the year 1743, when it was shot on the banks of the Findhorn by the famous hunter, Macqueen of Pall-a'-chrocaïn, not many hours after it had destroyed two children, the story of whose death is told by the brothers Stuart. Mr. Fittis has, of course, much to tell about deer forests and grouse moors, and has woven much interesting historical information into his account. Archery leads him, of course, to speak of the Royal Company of Archers, and there are chapters on the rural sports at Lammass and the revels of Fastren's E'en. Altogether the volume is full of entertaining and instructive matter, which serves to throw much light on the habits, manners, and customs of past generations of Scotsmen, and will well repay perusal.

Epidemic Influenza: Notes on its Origin and Method of Spread.

By RICHARD SISLEY, M.D. London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co. 1891.

Dr. Sisley's notes on this widely spread and mysterious disease deserve to be read by lay as well as by professional readers. For the most part the work is controversial, but there is sufficient information in it to make it attractive, notwithstanding its somewhat repellent title, to all. From the notes here thrown together, it appears that this is by no means the first time the disease has visited the British Isles. It has a history, and has been quite as virulent in previous centuries as in this. Dr. Sisley's great contention is that the disease is spread by contagion and infection. His method of proving this is inductive, and the facts he brings forward are quite sufficient to establish his hypothesis. That they demonstrate the thesis for which he contends we should not like to say. But, taking the facts he adduces, we have little hesitation in saying that they render it highly probable, notwithstanding the authorities to the contrary, that the old-fashioned opinion that the disease dealt with, and more especially that which is generally known as 'Russian influenza,' is spread by infection is true. Dr. Sisley has a number of very instructive notes as to the origin and history of the disease. Altogether the treatise is a valuable contribution to the study of a very obscure and much debated subject.

Oysters and all about them. By JOHN R. PHILPOTS, L.R.C.P. & S., Edin., etc. 2 Vols. London: J. Richardson & Co. 1890.

Whether Mr. Philpots has written all that can be written about oysters, he has certainly written a very great deal about them. His two volumes contain over 1350 pages. Here and there he may have repeated himself a little, but on the whole he has written a very instructive and entertaining book. Perhaps no book on the subject is so varied in its contents or so comprehensive in its character. There is in it a great deal of curious information, historical, zoological, and otherwise. And what is more, Mr. Philpots writes as if it were a pleasure to him. His work is in a large measure a compilation; but the selections he has made from other writers, whether ancient or modern, are always apposite and acknowledged. His aim, he tells us, has been to make his book a manual on the subject. In this respect, however, his zeal has probably outrun his discretion. A manual should be handy and condensed. The two volumes he has produced can scarcely be said to be either condensed or handy. They are bulky and, as already hinted, somewhat diffuse. Yet they contain an immense amount of information, not only on the history of oyster eating, but on its structure, habitat, and culture. Here, in fact, almost everything may be learned as to what has been done in this country and abroad in connection with the oyster, either for its increase or destruction. There is a chapter on the pearl oyster, another in which a large body of important statistics is given, and another on oyster fishing legislation; and here and there many curious pieces of information are given respecting the subject of the book. Altogether it is a full book, pleasantly written, and deserving the attention of all who are interested in the oyster, either as an article of food or as an article of commerce.

United States Pictures drawn with Pen and Pencil. By RICHARD LOVETT, M.A. Map and Illustrations. Religious Tract Society. 1891.

This is another admirable addition to a very beautiful and attractive series. Mr. Lovett, its author, has already made himself a name as a contributor to the series, having prepared the Irish, Norwegian, Dutch and London 'Pictures.' In the present volume neither his pen nor his pencil has lost its cunning. The letterpress is as attractive as ever, and the illustrations as well chosen. It may be that this may turn out the favourite volume among the 'Pictures.' Mr. Lovett has had a country great in its extent, and wonderful both in its natural scenery and its material and social developments, to deal with, and some of the things he has had to portray are unsurpassed in any quarter of the globe. The volume is entirely different from Dr. Manning's 'American Pictures.' That volume, in fact, so far as it pertains to the United States, owing to the rapidity with which changes are effected there, has become almost antiquated, and is already gathering about it something of an antiquarian interest. Mr. Lovett's book, on the other hand, is quite fresh, and presents the great scenes of the United States, to which it is exclusively devoted, as they exist to-day. His information is on all the points he touches the latest, and very interesting it is. Next to seeing the United States, the best way of forming adequate conceptions of its life, buildings, historical memorials, and physical features, is to follow Mr. Lovett in his journeys from New York to Washington, Chicago, San Francisco, the

Yosemite Valley, Niagara, and the Great Yellowstone Park, with its unrivalled wonders. He is an admirable cicerone, brimful of his subject, and never uninteresting.

A Biographical Catalogue of Macmillan & Co.'s Publications from 1843 to 1889. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1891.

A catalogue is scarcely literature, still the volume noted above has so much to do with literature, and contains so many notes on the publications of the past forty-five years, and illustrates so well the growth of a great publishing house, that its appearance deserves to be at least chronicled. For the future historian of modern literature it will prove invaluable. By turning to its pages he will see at a glance what books were popular, when they were printed, to what extent they were popular, how long their popularity lasted, and when they apparently vanished from the popular mind; for such is the plan of the volume that we have not only the title page of each book published by the Messrs. Macmillan & Co., from the foundation of the firm down to 1889, but also the date of every reprint, with other particulars as to size, number of pages, and whether stereotyped or electrotyped. Every pains has been taken to make the volume as handsome as possible, and for many it will have a larger interest than some volumes of a different sort. Besides the catalogue itself, the volume contains an informing preface and a couple of portraits, one of Alexander Macmillan, and the other of Daniel, the founder of the firm, whose biography was written some time ago by the author of *Tom Brown's School Days*.

SHORT NOTICES.

The volume of *Sermons preached on Special Occasions*, by the late Dr. Lightfoot, Bishop of Durham, (Macmillan & Co.) is issued under the direction of the Trustees of the Lightfoot Fund. It contains in all eighteen sermons, each of which has a direct bearing upon the society, organisation, or occasion, in connection with which it was preached. They are all of them clear and vigorous productions, and some of them are admirable pieces of reasoning. Here and there they exhibit the greatness of the preacher's learning, and show how effectively he could use it without in the least parading it. Take for instance the sermon on 'the Father of Missionaries,' or the next, 'All Things to All Men,' or the next again on 'the Whirlwind from the North.' They show a large acquaintance with the world's history and the world's ways, and yet all the while the learning and scholarship of the preacher is firmly held in hand, and chiefly comes out in the shape of brief allusions which, as a rule, are singularly suggestive.

Sermons Preached in Lincoln's Inn Chapel. By Frederick Denison Maurice (Macmillan). This is a handsome and cheap reprint of the Rev. F. D. Maurice's famous Lincoln's Inn Sermons. They contain some of the finest thoughts of that great thinker put in the plainest and simplest way. The reader of them is at a loss to tell how it ever came to pass that the author of them was supposed by some to be at all misty either in thought and speech. Here all is clear, intelligible, and eloquent. The present is a reprint of one of the two volumes which for a number of years have been exceedingly difficult to meet with. The fact that the whole six volumes are to be reprinted shows the increasing influence which their author is obtaining among the English reading public.

Les Chef-d'œuvre de la chaire belongs to the excellent series now issuing under the title 'Bibliothèque littéraire de la famille' from the Librairie de l'Art, Paris, under the direction of M. M. F. Lhomme. In addition to an introduction, in which a sketch of the history of pulpit eloquence in France is given, the volume contains a series of well-chosen extracts from the great preachers of France. Bossuet, of course, comes first, and is represented by his famous sermons on Providence and Death and by numerous extracts chiefly from his funeral orations. Bourdaloue and Flechier follow, then Mascaron, Fenelon, and Massillon. Extracts are also given from Maury, Frayssinous, and Lacordaire. The selections are in each case preceded by a notice of the author, and a number of useful notes, illustrative of the text and intended to explain the allusions it contains, are added at the end. As with the rest of the series, the volume contains a number of illustrations.

The Book of Psalms, according to the Authorised Version, metrically arranged (Religious Tract Society) is in the main a reprint from the new and enlarged edition of the 'Annotated Paragraph Bible.' Fresh matter, however, has been added in the shape of notes, chiefly of an illustrative and practical character. The general introduction, which runs to about forty pages, will be found useful as containing a large amount of historical and critical information. A special introduction is prefixed to each psalm. As for the notes, they may be commended for their brevity and suggestiveness. A good index renders their contents more available than is usually the case.

The Rev. R. C. Jenkins' *Pre-Tridentine Doctrine* (Nutt) is a striking review of the doctrines enunciated by Cardinal Cajetan in his Commentaries on the Holy Scriptures. The Cardinal's failure to heal the rupture in Germany has obscured his merits as a commentator and theologian. In this character, in fact, he is scarcely known, and Mr. Jenkins deserves to be commended for reviving a knowledge of his works. They show at least that the Protestant divines were not the only writers of the period who were endeavouring to arrive at a clear and reasonable interpretation of the Scriptures, and further that many of the doctrines taught by the Reformers were anticipated by some of the most notable among the Catholic divines. In the selection of his method, Mr. Jenkins has been exceedingly happy. Taking the Commentaries one by one, he shows, frequently in the Cardinal's own words, the principles by which he was guided and the results at which he arrived. Here and there, however, Mr. Jenkins mars the pleasure which the perusal of his volume affords by the introduction of a strongly polemical spirit.

M. E. Boutmy's *Studies in Constitutional Law* (Macmillan & Co.) have found a capable translator in Miss E. M. Dicey, and her father, Professor Dicey, has written a brief introduction to the volume. The essays are three in number, and are devoted to a comparative study of the essential differences between English and French constitutionalism. They are unquestionably brilliant, and though Englishmen as a rule imagine they know all about the institutions under which they live and have a sort of contempt for all others, there can be little doubt that a perusal of M. Boutmy's essays will contribute much to their information, not only about their own institutions, but also in respect to those of France and the United States.

Messrs. Macmillan's 'English Men of Action' series includes some excellent monographs, but we do not think it includes one which deserves to be more highly commended than Mr. Oman's *Warwick the Kingmaker*.

For some reasons, and these very weighty ones, we are strongly disposed to place it at the head of the series. One thing, however, is undeniable: Mr. Oman has realized his opportunity and used it. Hitherto no monograph or biography of the Kingmaker has been attempted, and Mr. Oman has had the field all to himself. His work shows great research in the original sources of information, and is a solid contribution to English history.

Mr. Carstairs' *British Work in India* (Blackwood) is one of those books which everybody ought to read, but which, unfortunately, very few people do—to their own loss. India is a great possession, and we are all very proud of it, but know very little about it, and still less of the influence which our rule is having there. It is of this latter that Mr. Carstairs writes, as well as of the way in which this influence is made to tell, and of what ought to be the exclusive object of our presence there and how it may be best achieved. As we need hardly say, the volume is full of information. Mr. Carstairs has many sensible and enlightened things, the result of a large experience in the country, to say, and he puts them very forcibly. He deprecates the dragging of Indian affairs into party politics, is of opinion that the peoples of India are not yet prepared for advanced reforms, and is not enamoured of the Ilbert Bill. His views may be called Conservative, but very cogent facts are adduced in support of them, and he may be said to appear in his volume as a very earnest reformer, having at heart both the success of the British rule and the welfare of the many peoples who in India are subject to it.

In *The Lords of Cunningham* (Gardner), Mr. Robertson has managed to give a vivid account of the sanguinary feuds which raged in Ayrshire during the fifteenth and two following centuries. Most of his facts are taken from history. On these he has allowed his imagination to play with considerable freedom, and out of the brief records of history he has constructed a romance which is full of intrigue, battle, and murder, and sudden death. That his pages are stirring we need not say. They throw a lurid light on one of the stormiest and fiercest periods in Scottish history.

Voltaire, œuvres choisies, (prose et verse) is a number of the same series as the above. The extracts which, as the title bears, are taken both from the prose and the poetical works of the author, are very varied in character. They embrace historical and critical, as well as lighter pieces. Correspondence is well represented. The selections are preceded by a life of Voltaire and an estimate of his character as a writer. As usual in the publications of this firm, the illustrations are numerous.

The Greenleeks Papers (Dent & Co.), which the Rev. Titus Tiptaff has edited, remind us very much of a series of papers which appeared a good many years ago, and professed to be the private thoughts, or something of that kind, of a German Professor. That they are written in imitation of them we should not like to say. But this may be said: there is a good deal of humour in the papers of the Reverend Editor's friend, and a good deal of sound philosophy and common sense. The book is scarcely one the reader will care to read long. It is one of those volumes which one prefers to dip into from time to time for something to think about. Its tone is a little oracular, but here and there, in fact, frequently, one meets with a good thing well put.

Books received—*Sociology Diagrammatically systematized*, by Arthur Young (Houlston & Sons); *Dritto Sociale*, by Pietro Pellegrini; *The Psy-*

chology of Belief in Objective Existence, part 1, by Julius Pikler (Williams & Norgate); *Kant's Principles of Politics*, translated by W. Hastie, B.D. (T. & T. Clark); *The Prevailing Types of Philosophy*, by James M'Cosh, LL.D. (Macmillan); *The Economic Basis of Protection*, by S. N. Patten, Ph.D. (Lippincott Company); *The Theory of Determinants in the Historical Order of its Development*, Part 1—*Determinants in General*, by Thomas Muir, M.A., LL.D. (Macmillan); *The Intra-Cranial Circulation and its Relation to the Physiology of the Brain*, by James Cappie, M.D. (James Thin, Edinburgh); *How Scotland Lost her Parliament*, by Charles Waddie (Waddie & Co.); *Scenes and Stories of the North of Scotland*, new edition, by John Sinclair (Thin); *Hereward the Wake*, by Charles Kingsley, popular edition (Macmillan); *Snatches of World Song*, by A. Wellwood (Aird & Coghill); *The Esoteric Basis of Christianity*, by W. Kingsland (Theosophical Society); *A Lady's Letters from Central Africa*, by Jane F. Moir (Maclehose); *The Young Naturalist*, by Minnie M'Kean (Alex. Gardner); *Tibby's Tryst*, by Robina F. Hardy (Oliphant).

At 10:30 AM we left the fort and went to the
 river. The river was very low and we had to
 wade across. The water was very cold and
 the current was very strong. We had to
 swim across and it was very tiring.

We reached the other side at 11:30 AM and
 found a small village. The people were
 very friendly and we stayed there for
 the night. The village was very small and
 the people were very poor.

We left the village at 8:00 AM and went
 to the river. The river was very low and
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 very cold and the current was very strong.

We reached the other side at 9:00 AM and
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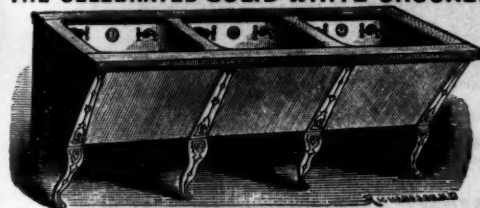
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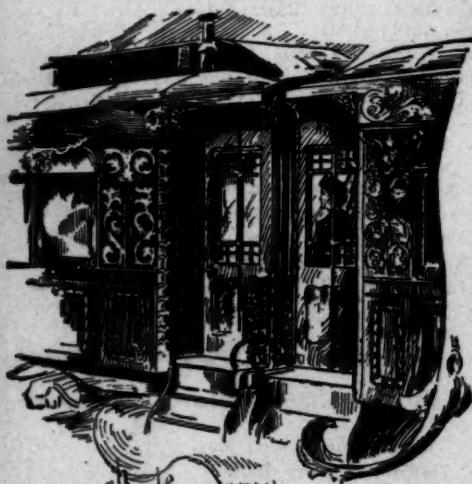
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